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NOTICE TO READERS: All material in this volume previously disseminated in electronic form. An Ω indicates a Foreign Media Note.

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NATO Needs 'Political Will' for Air Strikes

AU1904094894 Paris AFP in English 0922 GMT 19 Apr 94

[Text] Brussels, April 19 (AFP)—NATO will make no decision on air strikes to protect UN safe areas in Bosnia-Herzegovina until the governments of member states show a "political will" to act military, NATO officials said Tuesday [19 April].

NATO military commanders must also closely study the situation in the UN-declared safe zones under Bosnian Serb siege before replying to UN Secretary General Butrus Butrus-Ghali, who asked NATO Monday [18 April] for airstrike authorisation.

Bosnian Serbs are on the point of taking the Moslem town of Gorazde, one of the six so-called safe areas.

'Very Angry' Vorontsev Cited on Air Strikes

LD1904164494 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1534 GMT 19 Apr 94

["Pool" item by Vjekoslav Radovic]

[Text] New York, April 19 (TANJUG)—Only a few hours after Bosnian Moslem presidency President Ejup Ganic, to his own admittance, "implored and begged" the U.N. secretary-general to do something about Gorazde, Butrus Butrus-Ghali asked NATO Secretary-General Manfred Woerner to mount air strikes against Bosnian Serb positions.

The Russians were again not consulted and this caused a very angry reaction of Russian U.N. Ambassador Yuliy Vorontsev.

Following Butrus-Ghali's announcement, Vorontsev stormed out of the Security Council session saying that air strikes could not be launched without approval of the Security Council and that otherwise the U.N. would be directly involved in the Bosnian war on the Moslem side.

Senior reporters at U.N. headquarters say they have not seen such reaction from Russia since the time of the Cold War.

Vorontsev argued that although air support to U.N. troops on the ground was "the sacred duty" of the world organization, air strikes were something completely different because they would automatically draw the U.N. in war operations, not only in the air, but on the ground too.

The United Nations should decide whether it wants war or mediation and the Security Council should rule on this matter, said Vorontsev.

Those who support air strikes against Bosnian Serb positions maintain that the U.N. does not need special authorization of the Security Council to launch the strikes and invoke Resolution 836 of June 8, 1993 to support their position.

Para 10 of Resolution 836 says that U.N. member-nations, individually or through regional organizations and arrangements, can undertake, under the authority of the Security Council and in close cooperation with the secretary-general and the U.N. Protection Force (UNPROFOR), all the necessary measures, including the use of air power in and around the U.N.-designated "safe areas" in Bosnia- Herzegovina, to support UNPROFOR in carrying out its mandate.

A heated debate will probably ensue in the Security Council about the interpretation of this provision.

Butrus-Ghali and the majority of the council members believe that the provision gives them a free hand. The Russians, for their part, could come out with a counter-argument that the word "authority" in the text stands for special approval of the Security Council, which could create an impasse.

Vorontsev's argument that it is completely wrong for the United Nations to become involved in the Bosnian war on the side of only one of the belligerents may finally prevail. "This is our position and we will strongly defend it," Vorontsev was categorical.

Havel Discusses Central European Issues

AU2004090994 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 18 Apr 94 pp 1, 8

["Exclusive" interview with President Vaclav Havel by Petr Dudek in Litomysl on 16 April: "The Main Thing Is a Good Regional Atmosphere"]

[Text] The weekend [15-16 April] meeting involving seven presidents fulfilled the expectations of host Vaclav Havel "to the utmost" in several points. At a press briefing held after the departure of his counterparts, the president hailed, in particular, the congenial course of the in camera meetings. Vaclav Havel granted an interview to LIDOVE NOVINY immediately after the meeting.

[Dudek] Will the results of the Litomysl meeting manifest themselves in the everyday lives of citizens in Central Europe, or is this merely the start of a specific process and we will just have to wait for it to bear fruit?

[Havel] I do not think we have initiated a definite political process because the concept of a political process usually means the preparation of something—for example, a specific resolution, a declaration, a treaty, and so on. It is not a process in this sense; it is something else. It is, as I have already said several times, the creation or joint creation of a good regional atmosphere. The more politicians get to know one another, the more they exchange views, and the more often they meet, the better they see into each other's souls and thus create a more favorable environment for the political processes about which you are asking.

[Dudek] In Saturday's [16 April] debate, President Klestil commented that the opening of long impermeable borders has also brought certain problems—mass migration, for example. Is the Czech taxpayer prepared to bear part of the burden that migration may bring to the Central European region in the near future?

[Havel] Of course, migration may cause various problems, and it is causing them. Two tasks lie ahead of us. First, it is necessary to somehow regulate migration because certain countries may be prepared to a varying degree to accept refugees. Each of them must gauge its potential; it cannot open itself to everyone without limit. Not only the country's citizens, but also the refugees would be the worse for this. The second task is to remind our public again and again that there were times when hundreds of thousands of people fled from our country and found a warm reception in Switzerland, Canada, and many other countries.

The fundamental issue—I would say directly that it is an issue of universal solidarity—is that we must be capable here and there of taking in someone in need, someone fleeing from somewhere, especially if he is fleeing from armed conflict, poverty, and suffering. We must understand and somehow help him. It is impossible for us to keep on wanting someone to help us and be unable ourselves to help anyone and turn up our noses at those who are, at the moment, in a worse situation than we are. There were times when even we did not have it so good.

I admit that, following decades of total isolation, migration is a new phenomenon that our society is not used to. It may provoke all sorts of social tensions, but we must work on ourselves in this issue.

[Dudek] Do the Czechs still have the capacity to make sacrifices? Are we not at risk from the affluent indifference your counterpart Weizsaecker referred to in Litomysl in connection with the Germans?

[Havel] Thousands of the most multifarious good and bad traits slumber in the soul of society. We can be at risk from anything—good and bad. It is up to us which of our qualities we activate, which ones we rely on, which ones we develop, and for which ones we create favorable scope.

[Dudek] Western Europe, despite the fact that it officially recognizes the integration of East and Central Europe, remains, to put it mildly, hesitant about opening up its own markets. During your talks, did your partners from Germany and Austria show any sign of adopting a more accommodating stance?

[Havel] This was quite a topical subject, let us say, a year ago. It seems to me that the situation has improved a little since then—for example, certain quotas and restrictions applied by the Austrian side to our goods have gradually been removed. Our association agreement with the European Union is even asymmetrical in our favor. It seems to me that this protectionism is ceasing to be the most pressing problem.

Of course, it nevertheless holds true that all barriers should be removed more and as much as possible and that we should become part of a free economic environment. Allowance should also be made for our specific situation. Allowance should be made for the fact that our entire former—in essence, artificial—market has collapsed and, therefore, that we are in a more trying situation than other democratic countries that were not so completely tied to an abnormal market.

[Dudek] When will a settlement be reached in mutual Czech-German relations, as has already happened between Germany and Poland? What is preventing an honorable solution to this problem, a problem that is holding back Czech-German cooperation? Did you discuss this with President Weizsaecker?

[Havel] Of course, we discussed this. We discussed it privately, during unofficial occasions, at dinner, and so on. I would say two things about this. First, the impression is sometimes given that the two obstacles that lie between us, the Sudeten-German issue and compensation, have prevented good relations with Germany. There are a whole host of contacts and ties—political, economic, cultural, and others—and these two issues should be afforded the place commensurate to them. We

should not, as sometimes happens, turn this situation into something more serious—more so on our side than on the German side—than it actually is.

Second, I personally feel that the situation will turn out well. After the German elections in particular, no matter who wins them, some of the issues that have hitherto been blocked will move forward very rapidly.

[Dudek] When I was following your debate on Saturday [16 April], it seemed to me that this was a discussion among sovereign intellectuals. The meeting of intellectuals was supposed to begin on Sunday. Did you have a similar impression, and, if so, is this, in your opinion, in order?

[Havel] I do not know exactly how an intellectual is distinguished from a nonintellectual. For this reason, I cannot tell exactly which of the presidents present are intellectuals and which are not. The purpose of this meeting was not to resolve the specific political issues of the day but, rather, to ponder the longer-term issues, prospects, or problems. Understandably, the result of this was that the debate was perhaps more general and perhaps less dramatic than many a televised discussion. However, no one was obliged to watch it.

Clarifies Stance on Electoral Districts

AU1904160694 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 8 Apr 94 p 3

[LIDOVE NOVINY report: "The President's Denial"]

[Text] Prague—President Vaclav Havel asked LIDOVE NOVINY to publish the following statement:

It seems that the CTK reporter who provided information on the most recent "Conversations from Lany" did not listen to me at all. Otherwise, he could not have said that I supported the deputies' compromising draft for the election system to the senate, which had the large districts composed of three smaller ones. Most of the papers took on this information and came to various conclusions. I did not support such a proposal, and I cannot support it because I do not understand what the difference is between 81 electoral districts and 81 electoral districts associated into 27 larger ones. On the contrary, I said that I believed another draft to be more reasonable—that is, the one about which I had been informed by the deputies and that involves 27 electoral districts in which triple elections would be held on the basis of three independent lists of candidates. This would be a majority system, which would be different from the subsequent one in that three mandates would be won simultaneously in triple elections.

I am aware that those are details that are uninteresting for many readers. However, because I like order and precision, I have decided to react.

BIS May Use Force Against Foreign Loiterers

AU2004091194 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 16 Apr 94 p 2

[Article by "(ajn, ina)": "The New Law Will Allow the Security and Information Service To Keep Its Location Secret From Foreigners Even to the Extent of Using Force"]

[Text] Prague—Foreign tourists who loiter in the vicinity of civilian intelligence buildings may be exposed to the risk of physical attack by intelligence service members. The secret service bill anticipates that Security Information Service [BIS] members may ask foreigners in the vicinity of BIS buildings to show personal documents. If they refuse to do so and refuse to wait until the police arrive, intelligence service agents may use physical force, such as blows, hits with hands or weapons, and kicks.

At present, the police can employ these means, including tear gas, but not BIS.

Stanislav Devaty, interim BIS director, has justified this bill by saying that foreigners in the vicinity of the building where his office is located are intentionally taking photos of secret service members or filming them.

Jaroslav Basta, the former head of this service, affirms, however, that no other similar service in the world has these powers. "In every country, the secret service headquarters locations are known, just as in the Czech Republic. Most of them are publicly accessible, and only buildings in which there are operative agents are kept secret," Basta says. According to him, it is up to the secret service to keep itself secret. There are a number of embassies and foreign embassy residences close to the Prague BIS center. The Chinese Embassy is directly opposite it.

EBRD Aid Requested for Industry Restructuring

LD1904155094 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1200 GMT 19 Apr 94

[Text] The Czech Republic wants the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development [EBRD] to help, in particular in restructuring Czech industry. This was mentioned in today's speech delivered by Czech Finance Minister Ivan Kocarnik at the EBRD conference in St. Petersburg.

According to the minister, the Czech Republic has already concluded the first stage of the transition to a market economy. However, the country's economy is now confronted with great posttransformation challenges. The minister also expressed his appreciation of the positive changes that have occurred in the EBRD since Jacques de Larossiere became its director.

RDP Group Arms Consortium Adds 4 Enterprises

AU2004092894 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 15 Apr 94 p 2

[Article by "(joe)": "The RDP Group Arms Consortium Is Expanding"]

[Text] Jihlava—The RDP Group shareholding company, which affiliates the largest special production manufacturers, will expand to include at least another four enterprises; negotiations are under way on the entry of several more enterprises. This was one of the conclusions reached yesterday at the company's general assembly. The RDP Group's aim is to create a system of mutual cooperation involving the Czech Army, the central bodies of state administration, and the arms manufacturers and to participate in the modernization of the Czech Army. According to officials from the Defense Ministry, the suppliers of final equipment for the Czech Army should, on principle, be domestic entities. Roughly 30 percent of the 2.5 percent of the state budget earmarked for the Defense Ministry has been set aside for modernizing the Czech Army. The ministry is now drawing up the priorities of the program for the Army's modernization. The modernized T-72 tank and the Aero L-59 aircraft, for example, with all probability will be among the new military systems.

Support Urged for Civilian Aviation Industry

AU1904133294 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 6 Apr 94 p 14

[Article by Josef Michl: "Czech Civilian Aviation Industry Is Heading Straight for a Museum"]

[Text] The successful bidder for the purchase of Motorlet Praha or Let Kunovice will acquire the results of technical development in the value of several billion korunas [Kc]. A new mid-size L-610 aircraft for 40 passengers has been developed since 1983 in these companies, which, according to the aviation industry restructuring program, are not expected to remain in the Aero holding. The cost of the development to date amounts to approximately Kc3-4 billion, and experts estimate that overall completion, including U.S. international certification, would cost another Kc1.5 billion. In this instance, it would be possible to start aircraft deliveries to potential customers in 1996. At this time, there are two prototypes of the "610" tested—the L-610 G, with General Electric CT7 engines in Let Kunovice, and the L-610 MX05, with Walter M602 engines from Prague Motorlet being tested by the Czech Army. The civilian aircraft manufacturer, Kunovice Let Co., cannot afford to operate this prototype. If development of the Czech civilian aviation continues in the direction taken, both prototypes will end up in the same place—the Kbely Aviation Museum.

If the military part of the aviation industry (the L-39 and L-59 production) is referred to as one with good marketing prospects, it is, above all, because of the initiative of Aero Vodochody management. If the official material finds that the civilian part of the aviation industry has no chance of survival, it is because no one has thought of an aggressive marketing policy. At the same time, many experts believe that the marketing prospects for civilian production are at least as good as for the military one, and it is economically more effective.

According to marketing surveys conducted outside the official management structures, there are realistic chances for a long-term workload of the civilian aviation firms based on the sales of large series of L-420 or L-610 aircraft in Latin America, Southeast Asia, and on the traditional markets of the former Soviet Union. According to the estimates of the firm Saab, until the year 2000, the world demand for midsize aircraft is approximately 1,300 units. This most likely does not include the potential marketing possibilities in the republics of the former USSR, where the service lives of approximately 2,000 Jak-40 and An-24 aircraft are coming to an end, so that the overall demand comes to approximately 3,000 machines. There is no manufacturer in the world that could independently satisfy this demand. Moreover, in the difficult operational conditions in these territories, no competition can stand up to the Czech aircraft. In addition, thanks to the comparative advantage of the Czech economy provided by the cheap labor and the production input, in comparison with the world standard, the development cost comes to about one-quarter. The preliminary sales price of the L-610 comes to approximately $9 million, while the comparable Regional Jet costs $14-15 million and the Saab-Scania-2000 more than $12 million. (If we add the cost of the operation of the aircraft, which includes the price of engines—because their lifespan is shorter than that of the airframe—the instruments, spare parts, and complete overhauls, the total purchase price of the aircraft comes to approximately two and a half to three times as much). With annual sales of 30 L-410 or L-420 aircraft and 12 L-610 M or G Let, Kunovice and Motorlet Praha can show profit and begin to pay off their debts.

From this vantage point, the debt burden does not appear to be so tragic, although it amounts to Kc1.31 billion debt to banks and Kc1.85 billion to the Aero holding in the case of Let Kunovice, while its equity totals Kc1.07 billion. And, in the instance of Motorlet—an equity of Kc1.55 billion—the debt has reached Kc0.8 billion to banks and Kc0.1 billion to the holding. Even if we also take into account the debt to the state treasury and suppliers (they are partially covered by the unfinished production), both firms could be paying off their debts beginning in 1996. Moreover, it would mean the preservation of the production opportunities and, by extension, jobs in cooperating enterprises. The views have been voiced in expert circles, including managerial ones, that, except for the interests of the Investicni a Postovni Banka (IPB), or, as the case may be, other creditors of Aero holding from the banking sector, who logically are not interested in a business venture with aviation production but, rather, in a speedy return of the

missing hundreds of millions to the bankers' parental care, there is no real reason for one of the few areas in which Czech industry is absolutely capable of competing in the world markets to be sold abroad below value and with uncertain results.

Because the aviation industry has been and still is, above all, in the hands of the state, there is no need to search laboriously for the bearer of specific responsibility for the present situation and ignorance of what is coming. The government that recommended the implementation of the conclusions from the 8 March 1994 meeting of economy ministers on restructuring the aviation industry in fact only officially endorsed what has been happening for the past nine months on the initiative of the IPB, which, although not a shareholder, has a majority on the aviation holding board. No other principal decision on the part of the major owner has been adopted. The situation in the aviation industry after 1990 can be described as waiting for privatization, which, in turn, with respect to the current knowledge, can be termed jumbled. Under these circumstances, the decision to sell certainly is a welcome opportunity for the government to rid itself of a hot potato, but, except for the so-far-uncertain amount to go to the creditors' pockets, it does not solve the problem. Even though the decision to capitalize the Aero holding debts may not be ideal, it certainly represents a possibility of further development for its military part. This chance was denied to the civilian sector, although no real argument has been given explaining why this sector should not have just as good prospects and why the property of the coupon privatization investors, who invested in the first wave of privatization in aviation as a whole, should not thereby appreciate. While the decisionmaking on the future of Czech breweries, the auto manufacturing industry, and china production took place or is taking place with media—and thereby public—participation, the demise of civilian aviation production in the Czech Republic should most likely be quiet and without pathos.

Aviation Industry Establishes Association

AU2004091294 Prague DENNI TELEGRAF in Czech 15 Apr 94 p 6

[Article by "(fiz)": "The Aviation Industry Manufacturers Are Establishing an Association"]

[Text] Prague—A total of 22 of the most important aircraft hardware manufacturers met in Prague yesterday for preparatory talks on establishing the Association of Aviation Industry Manufacturers. The Association's Preparatory Committee was elected within the framework of yesterday's talks. During the course of the next two to three weeks, it should draft all of the materials for the constituent general assembly.

According to Miroslav Petru, the president of the Avia-Hamilton Standard Aviation company, who was one of the initiators of this event, the association will endeavor to improve the economic conditions for our aircraft hardware manufacturers. In his opinion, the aircraft industry is the leader in industrial production, and the overall expansion of industrial output depends on its favorable economic development. According to him, the association's establishment could lead to an improvement in the position of our aviation industry and thus support the development of this branch, which, by its state-of-the-art technology, sets the tone for the other branches of industrial production. Petru also said that the association will lobby for specific government assistance but gave no further details on this issue. He merely said that specific support for the aviation industry as the flagship of the economy is simply a matter of course in such economically developed countries as, for example, the United States and Great Britain.

Industrial Production Falls, Unemployment Rises

AU1904074294 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 13 Apr 94 p 3

[Article by Antonin Jilecek: "The Development of the Czech Republic's Economy in February 1994"]

[Text] At the beginning of 1994, there was a slight recovery in construction output and in several industrial sectors. The Czech Republic's overall industrial production fell by 3 percent in February and 1.6 percent in the January/February period, compared with the same periods in 1993. Output in small enterprises with up to 24 employees increased by 23.7 percent within two months, while in other enterprises it declined by 3.9 percent. The output of the paper industry, printing, and publishing companies increased by 15.3 percent, in coke plants and the refinery industry by 9.6 percent, in the chemical and pharmaceutical industry 3.3 percent, and in the food and spice industry 3.0 percent.

The number of employees declined by 5.5 percent in January and February against the same period a year ago. The average monthly wage reached 5,899 korunas [Kc], 11.1 percent higher in this period.

Construction output increased by 3.3 percent in February 1993 and by 7.7 percent since the beginning of the year compared with the same period last year. The increment in construction output this year has been secured by companies with 25 or more employees. The number of employees increased by 1.3 percent in February compared with the same period last year. Their average monthly wage reached Kc6,371, an increase of 11.8 percent.

The volume of goods transported by the railroads has increased by 14.8 percent since the beginning of the year compared with the January-to-February 1993 period. Bus transportation increased by 4.5 percent, and river transportation by 4.8 percent, but the number of passengers continued to decline.

Compared with the January-to-February 1993 period, the number of slaughter poultry declined by 30.7 percent, slaughter cattle by 6.3 percent, milk by 7 percent, and eggs by 8 percent. The sale of slaughter pigs increased by 3.6 percent.

Owing to the increase in prices for animal products, prices for agricultural products increased by 1 percent overall in February 1993 compared with February 1994.

The price increase in February was minimal (0.2 percent against January), and food prices fell by 0.2 percent. In the service sector, the price of water and sewage disposal increased by 0.7 percent. Compared with February 1993, prices were generally up 10.3 percent. Prices for services rose 19.5 percent, nonfood products 11.6 percent, public catering 6 percent, and food 4.5 percent.

According to preliminary results, the overall volume of exports (in prices including cost, insurance, and freight to the borders of the buyer) rose by Kc51.1 billion, 6.6 percent higher than in the same period last year. Exports to Slovakia declined by 15.5 percent. Exports to European Free Trade Association countries and developing countries, in particular, have increased.

Imports in the first two months reached Kc50.2 billion and were 26.4 percent higher than in the same period last year. Imports from Slovakia fell by 3.1 percent.

In two months, the trade balance showed a surplus of Kc0.9 billion, and Kc1.4 billion with Slovakia.

March Consumer Prices, Cost of Living Figures

AU1904181194 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 18 Apr 94 p 7

[Czech Statistical Office report: "Consumer Prices and Cost of Living in March"]

[Text] In March, as well as in February, there was a slight month-to-month increase in consumer prices. The overall level of consumer prices increased 9.3 percent in March compared to February. Prices for nonfood products increased 0.5 percent, for services 0.3 percent, and for public catering only 0.1 percent. In food prices, there was a slight decline of 0.1 percent, mainly due to lower prices for meat and meat products by 0.7 percent, and eggs by 10.8 percent. Among the individual nonfood products, prices for coffee increased 2.7 percent, sweets approximately 2 percent, and vegetable oil 1.1 percent.

The development in food prices had an impact on the level of prices in public catering. Prices in restaurants rose only 0.1 percent and those for catering to work places 0.2 percent. Nonfood prices increased between 0.2 percent and 0.6 percent, according to individual items, with the exception of personal hygiene products, medical supplies, drug store products, shoes, and leather goods (an increase between 1 and 1.3 percent), and prices for fuel, which declined 0.3 percent.

In the sphere of services, prices for cinema and theater tickets rose 1.4 and 4.4 percent, and prices for certain personal services also rose.

In the first quarter of this year, consumer prices rose (in March against December 1993) by 2.4 percent, in general, while the price development was different for the individual products within the main groups of goods and services. In consequence of the price increases for rent, heat, and hot water in January, prices for services increased 8.7 percent, for nonfood services 1.9 percent, and for public catering 1.2 percent, while food prices virtually stagnated (there was a decline of 0.1 percent in March against December 1993).

The average yearly inflation rate (average over the 12 most recent months against 12 months of the previous year) was 17.6 percent in March.

The development of consumer prices, particularly food prices, had an impact on the low increase in the cost of living (this impact was dependent on overall spending on food in individual types of households). The cost of living increased in March only 0.1 percent in households of pensioners, 0.2 percent in households of employees, and 0.3 in households of farmers.

30 Kg of Heroin Discovered in Turkish Truck

AU1904152294 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 14 Apr 94 p 2

[CTK report: "Drugs at the Borders and at Ruzyne Airport as Well"]

[Text] Prague—Folmava customs seized over 30 kg of heroin worth 55 million korunas [Kc] from a Turkish truck yesterday. The hiding place was professionally manufactured in the brake cylinders and perfectly disguised. The screws were covered with putty, and the hiding place was sprayed with paint.

On Tuesday [12 April] at Ruzyne Airport, customs officers discovered more than 1.5 kg of cocaine, worth almost Kc5.5 million, in the false bottom of a a Dutch citizen's suitcase.

Paper Comments on Crime Situation in 1993

AU1904134094 Prague RESPEKT in Czech No 14, 4-10 Apr 94 p 4

[Article by Jaroslav Spurny: "Government Rejected Report on Security Situation"]

[Text] Last week, Klaus's Cabinet rejected a report on which three ministries have been working for six months. According to Prime Minister Klaus, the report failed to deliver solutions for sorting out the problems indicated in the report. The government agreed, however, with the main conclusion of the report: "There is no threat to the Czech Republic that could throw its political stability out of balance or endanger its sovereignty in the foreseeable future."

Gangs, Drugs, and Spies

Organized crime, "external security risks" (nationalism, above all), and illegal migration are the most serious security problems today, the report states. Vladimir Suman, chairman of the Defense and Security Committee, recently arrived at the same conclusion on his own. The 200-page report, however, deals with his conclusions on several pages only.

Last year, the police department in charge of criminal organizations eliminated 15 gangs. Their members committed murders, burglaries, and extortion and forged documents. Some of the gangs even cooperated with policemen. When apprehending mafia members, police found stolen money in the amount of $100,000, 250 kilograms of Semtex, 186 kg of perunite [perunit], submachine guns, pistols, radio transmitters, over 1,000 counterfeit passports, and 0.6 kg of radioactive californium.

As regards drugs, police arrested over 100 drug traffickers and dealers. Heroin, ephedrine, cocaine, and morphine were found on them, all in amounts not exceeding 1 kilogram. Police discovered 21 money counterfeiters and also a gang that attempted to smuggle arms to Iran and Bosnia.

According to the Security Information Service (BIS), no case of a planned terrorist action has been recorded on Czech territory, if we do not count 44 bomb actions without political connotations, which are under investigation by the police. BIS is convinced that Russian, Ukrainian, and Polish intelligence services have become "significantly active" on our territory. Reportedly, they are most interested in our arms exports. Arab countries, too, are reportedly very active: Iraq, Iran, Libya, Syria, and Palestine. Allegedly, they are mostly concerned with the "continuity of economic relations." The rest of the BIS report describes the work of counterintelligence. It does so very vaguely for secrecy reasons.

The Military Intelligence Service (VZS) sees the main danger in nationalist conflict between Russia and Ukraine. The military sees the second-greatest danger in the developments in the former German Democratic Republic. "The totalitarian past of the eastern laender is a fertile soil for extremist and racially intolerant individuals within the German population," the VZS analysis says. Third, the military intelligence list describes the "belt of crisis situations," which "starts in Africa, goes through the Middle East, south Europe, Central Asia and India, and ends in East Asia."

From Crime to Conviction: Too Long a Time Span

As regards the problems of internal security, all experts are united over one problem: There is too long a time span between when a crime is committed and when the perpetrator is convicted and sentenced. Only in simpler cases are perpetrators sentenced within one year. However, if a convict has committed several crimes or if he has accomplices, the criminal proceedings may take two or three years.

Several figures are worth mentioning. Violent crimes increased by two-thirds in 1993 against the previous year. In the Czech Republic, 195 murders and 4,109 muggings were committed last year. A total of 20 percent of crimes are committed by minors. The highest success rate as regards explained crimes is in the district of Rychnov nad Kneznou (68 percent), and the smallest in Prague (13.5 percent). The higher increase in the crime rate was recorded in the Pardubice district (40 percent), and the smallest in Most (a 7-percent decline).

As regards the Czech Republic's security, the report speaks about three priorities:

An increased interest of migrants in residing in our country is being expected, and, therefore, it is important to secure the border with Slovakia as soon as possible.

Organized crime (drugs, [radioactive] waste material) is expected to increase. With respect to this development, a new amendment to the criminal code is being drafted.

New Foreign Minister Kukan Views Czech Ties

AU1804105094 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 13 Apr 94 pp 1, 20

[Interview with Slovak Foreign Minister Eduard Kukan by Pavol Minarik; place and date not given: "Meciar's Opposition Criticizes the Government for Meeting the Czech Republic Halfway"]

[Text] [Minarik] Do you have the impression that, in connection with the approaching elections, some Slovak politicians are trying to play the Czech card in an unpleasant way?

[Kukan] Despite the short time in office, the new government is being strongly criticized by Meciar's opposition for allegedly being too willing to meet the Czech side halfway. I have participated in a meeting of the Customs Union Council, and I can only say that the treaty we concluded is a reasonable compromise. I believe that we will be able to find compromise solutions when solving other, more serious problems. It is very easy to bang the door when we have a dispute [allusion to Meciar's behavior]. However, the situation that follows may become a problem. In the election campaign, there certainly will be politicians who will try to show that we are making concessions to Prague. It is important for the current government Cabinet to have clean hands and a clear conscience and to show that it has never gambled with or bargained for Slovak interests.

[Minarik] A month ago, you became minister in the new Slovak Government. What are the priorities in the relations between Slovakia and the Czech Republic, in your opinion?

[Kukan] I do no like to speak about certain priorities because, in relations between the Slovak Republic and the Czech Republic, there should be as few controversial points as possible. Of course, we are interested in having as few disputes as possible because we should make use of the good things that united us in the past. In the world, we have gained respect for our civilized separation, and I am not sure whether we have presented this fact correctly at home. Certainly, it would be nice if we finally solved all of the problems linked to the division of the property of the former federation and closed the difficult chapter in our mutual relations. The property division is always the most difficult thing after a divorce. Here, we have a divorce of two countries that have been living together for several decades. You always need two sides to preserve good relations. This government is sincerely interested in good relations with the Czech Republic, as much as it is interested in the protection of the Slovak interests. I personally believe that it is possible. This does not have to be against the spirit of neighborly cooperation.

[Minarik] What about relations with Hungary, which have been a very sensitive issue in the Slovak Republic's foreign policy? Budapest was positive about the first steps of Moravcik's government, but....

[Kukan] We really want the Slovak-Hungarian relations to be calm and reasonable, so that we might be able to discuss anything anytime. I believe there are certain problems that we will be able to sort out in the short period of time our government has available. However, this will require a sober, realistic, and reasonable attitude on the Hungarian side, too. We are not succumbing to the illusion that we will be able to very quickly sort out the problems there are between us. Moreover, in Hungary, parliamentary elections are to be held soon, in less than a month. Public opinion polls have shown that the government may change after the elections. We want to proceed in the same way, independently of who is in power in Budapest or Bratislava. Without hesitating too much, we have proposed a meeting on the readmission treaty, the temporary economic regime on the Danube, and other issues.

[Minarik] You were called on to assume the position of foreign minister when you were the Slovak Republic's ambassador to the UN in New York. How have your colleagues accepted this fact?

[Kukan] I was quite surprised when Prime Minister Jozef Moravcik phoned me with the proposal. However, I suspected that this could happen when the prime minister said, immediately after he had been appointed, that a professional diplomat should become foreign minister. I will be sincere: I liked it in New York; I felt like a fish in fresh water. You have situations in your life where it is impossible to say no to an offer. I have spent all my life in service abroad—30 years in the diplomatic service, and now I have a unique opportunity to look at the thing from a different angle. Despite the fact that I have been appointed to this function for the period of six months—that is, until the election in the fall—I consider it to be the culmination of my professional career as a diplomat. As regards my colleagues, they certainly were surprised to a certain extent. My Czech colleague Karel Kovanda was the first to congratulate me, even before I confirmed my decision to the prime minister. In the UN, this was not such a surprise. It is not unusual that some of the ambassadors become foreign ministers.

[Minarik] It was Knazko's Alliance of Democrats that proposed you for the position of foreign minister. What do you have in common with it?

[Kukan] I am not a member of the Alliance of Democrats or of any other party. According to the coalition agreement, every member has the right to propose the agreed-upon number of candidates to the government. They proposed me.

[Minarik] How does the United States, where you lived for four years, view Slovakia? What improves and what damages Slovakia's image?

[Kukan] The ordinary American does not know much about Slovakia. He can learn about Slovakia from the media when they report dramatic events. There does not have to be bloodshed, but it is always an event that is worth noticing. The reports usually have a negative rather than a positive flavor. This should not be regarded

as bad intentions but as characteristic of many media sources. With the access to information they have, it is quite normal that they would notice the statements and steps of our politicians who are not the usual and the best ones. Not all of us realize that everything we do at home is being carefully watched abroad and that, logically, this has certain effects. This is why a well-considered domestic policy is the best foreign policy. I have found myself in humorous situations quite often. For example, Americans asked me whether they should travel to Bratislava or to some other place in Slovakia and whether the situation was safe there. Many confuse us with the former Yugoslavia. This is why we have to explain the very basic things about ourselves during various meetings and lectures....

[Minarik] What is Slovakia's attitude toward the plan of French Prime Minister Balladur, according to which the change of borders could become the subject of talks between countries?

[Kukan] We must understand the Balladur plan in the wide context. I am not going to say it in a diplomatic way, but, at the beginning, this plan contained unacceptable conditions for Slovakia. For Slovakia, it is unacceptable to link the question of minorities to the change of borders. If we speak about stability in Europe, we cannot ignore the fact that stability does not depend exclusively on the status of ethnic minorities, but also on political, economic, and security links and matters. Since it first appeared, the idea of the Balladur plan has undergone certain development. The text of the pertinent treaty is still the subject of negotiations. We are aware of the fact that this is a matter for the European Twelve to discuss. I believe that the authors of the plan will accept some of our views. I believe that the resulting document will be acceptable for all, and there will be no losers and no winners.

Meciar Criticizes Government Program

AU1904124294 Bratislava REPUBLIKA in Slovak 15 Apr 94 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Vladimir Meciar, chairman of the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia, by Viera Urbanova; place and date not given: "Scandals Surrounding the President Are Deepening the Moral Crisis; Former Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar on the Political and Economic Aspects of the Provisional Government's Policy Statement"]

[Text] On Wednesday [13 April], coalition deputies expressed support for their government by approving its policy statement, which came about at lightning speed. Although an economy cannot be taken over from one day to the next, the broad-coalition government has presented its policy statement as a way out of a crisis into which society had been led by the Meciar government. Former Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar regards the Moravcik Cabinet's philosophy of economic reform as an irreparable historical error. According to the former prime minister, Slovakia will not be able to cope with a third change in economic reform. He warns against the treacherous form of privatization [envisaged by the present government] and voices apprehensions about the development of democracy in Slovakia.

[Urbanova] How do you evaluate the concept of the provisional government's policy statement?

[Meciar] The policy statement is full of contradictions. Its contents do not express a cohesive philosophy of development; it is more or less a descriptive document. Given the term of office that the government has ahead of itself, the statement should literally have had the form of a schedule. It should have been subdivided into days and assignments that need to be resolved in every period of time. I assess the concept of the policy statement negatively. The building of the state and the building of the state administration have come to a halt. The policy statement does not address these issues at all. It envisages the third change of economic reform in Slovakia. Slovakia cannot cope with that. It cannot start anew for the third time in 14 months. Our concept of economic development and the revenue part of the budget was based on the philosophy of recovery. The provisional government's concept is based on the philosophy of restrictions. To survive, it will transfer to the state budget more than 5 billion korunas' worth of resources from the National Property Fund initially designated for structural changes in the economy. The crisis in society will deepen, but it will not be resolved.

A change in the perception of social relations is making itself felt. The principle of egalitarianism and downleveling is appearing in many respects, and the development of social policy is again acquiring a consumer character, in lieu of a balanced and differentiated interest [sentence as published]. Those who worked hard in the mines or steel mills for 20 years and those who stole and were in prison for 20 years will be equally well off in their retirement. The merit principle will be erased.

[Urbanova] Privatization will represent a key aspect [of the new government's policy]. To what extent has the new government deflected from the path on which you embarked?

[Meciar] The concept of the new government contains a treacherously hidden change of the whole process of privatization. Outwardly, the concept appears to be very liberal because they want to offer up to 50 percent of state-owned property to the citizens. In reality, however, the citizens will be robbed. A huge capital surplus will be created on the market so the value of the property will drop steeply. When this happens, the citizens will accept the offer to sell their shares, but at considerably lower prices than the value the shares would have a few years later. Two effects are being pursued in this way. The actual execution of ownership rights will be concentrated in the hands of [investment] funds and not in the hands of holders of investment coupons. And these shares will be quickly bought up, also with respect to the funds' holders. Our government's effort to create a strong

middle and capital-owning class in Slovakia will be slowed down or indefinitely postponed. The function of the National Property Fund in relation to the budget will change, as well, because privatization revenue will no longer represent a supplementary source of budget revenue. Essentially, property will be given away. Whereas we have been criticized for selling some things cheaply (but someone always had to pay for it), now there will not be any payment at all. The reasoning behind this is that the Christian Democrats have a relatively strong position in investment funds, and they therefore suppose that, with their help, they will get hold of the economy more quickly.

[Urbanova] The policy statement is the product of an agreement arrived at by members of a broad coalition. Is this an indication that even political entities as diverse as those that constitute the government can reach a consensus?

[Meciar] The right-left or, if you want, left-right coalition has worked out a mechanism of negotiations that does not permit any dynamism of development. Everything is being halted and indefinitely postponed on which the government entities do not have identical programs. It is apparent that the importance of the Hungarian political parties, which hold the balance of power, is growing. The Moravcik government is thus compelled to make concessions to them and is therefore afraid of making public all of the agreements it has concluded with them. One of the agreements is to recall Ivan Gasparovic, chairman of the parliament, in late April and to replace him with Peter Weiss. There have already been coalition talks on this issue. At every step, democracy is being violated. The moral crisis in society is being deepened by efforts to seize power without regard for the democratic principles and by the growing scandals surrounding the president. Not all of them have been made public.

[Urbanova] Some of your deputies claim that the provisional government's policy statement copies, for the most part, your own policy statement....

[Meciar] Rhetorically it does. They quote many parts from our own program but, because these parts are isolated, they say nothing. The minister of education's rhetoric, for example, is not bad, but he has no money to implement it. Even though they have adopted elements from our program, these elements are not connected by any underlying philosophy and do not represent an economically substantiated whole. The entire philosophy of economic reform represented by [Deputy Prime Minister] Mrs. Schmognerova and others is a historically irreparable error. The citizen will have to pay a social and political price for it, but entrepreneurs, too, who could have constituted a real and competitive social class, will have to bear the consequences.

[Urbanova] What is your view of the crusade against REPUBLIKA?

[Meciar] I protest against the steps being taken against REPUBLIKA and TA SR, and against the planned changes in television and radio. We never did anything like this. This is no longer a question of the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia but one of whether we will be a democratic state. If the idea of parliamentarianism, the right of citizens to express their views in a referendum, and the right to express one's views freely are ignored, it is impossible to keep silent.

Knazko, Moravcik Followers Form Single Group

AU1904134494 Bratislava SME in Slovak 15 Apr 94 p 3

[Article by "asa": "Alliance of Democrats and Alternative of Political Realism Clubs of Deputies Merged"]

[Excerpt] Bratislava—[Passage omitted] I. Gazdik, deputy to the National Council of the Slovak Republic [NRSR] for the Alliance of Democrats [AD], reported yesterday that the NRSR Clubs of Deputies of the AD and the Alternative of Political Realism have merged. He said that, for the time being, the new club of deputies consists of 17 deputies, but he did not rule out its expansion in the near future. He said, furthermore, that one deputy left the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] Club of Deputies yesterday and decided to operate as an independent deputy. Gazdik did not disclose the deputy's name.

Hungarian Intelligence Service Chief Visits

AU1904160894 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 14 Apr 94 p 1

[Article by "NO": "A Hungarian Visit to the Slovak Information Service"]

[Text] Bratislava—On 12 and 13 April 1994, Dr. Kalman Kocis, director of the Hungarian Intelligence Service, visited Slovakia. He met with leading officials of the Slovak Information Service [SIS] and discussed specific issues of cooperation in the fight against international crime, illegal arms trade and deals in dual-purpose materials, international terrorism, and the exchange of information on the situation in the so-called risk areas of Europe. The Hungarian guest invited SIS Director Dr. Vladimir Mitra and other SIS leading officials to visit Budapest. Kocis's visit to Bratislava was the sixth meeting of the SIS with members of foreign intelligence services with whom the SIS maintains working contacts.

Government Accuses STV of Lack of Objectivity

AU1904125594 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 14 Apr 94 p 3

[TA SR report: "Slovak Television Perceived as Unobjective"]

[Text] Bratislava—The Press and Information Department (TIO) of the Slovak Government Office regards the coverage of the parliamentary debate on the Slovak Government Policy Statement in the first issue of STV's [Slovak Television] "Aktuality" program on 12 April as incompatible with the STV's legal status as a public corporation. This is stated in a statement by the TIO of

the Slovak Government Office that was made available to TA SR yesterday. The statement draws attention to the fact that the TIO of the Slovak Government Office considers the failure to make public a single idea from Slovak Prime Minister Jozef Moravcik's speech, while at the same time including a statement by Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] Deputy Olga Keltosova, a violation of the objectivity of information. The STV is legally obliged to maintain objectivity, the statement says.

STV To Enhance 'Objectivity'

AU1904161094 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 15 Apr 94 p 2

[TA SR report: "There Will Also Be a Parliamentary Press Club"]

[Text] Bratislava—On the basis of ideas raised at the working meeting of the Slovak Television Council with the STV [Slovak Television] management and representatives of 13 political parties on 7 April, the Council arrived at the opinion that it is necessary to set permanent rules with a view to enhancing objectivity and plurality in STV's news and current affairs programs. This is stated in a statement that the Slovak Television Council made available to the TA SR yesterday.

In the spirit of the Law on Slovak Television, the Council decided that, after every concluded meeting of the National Council of the Slovak Republic, a "parliamentary press club" will be broadcast, to be attended by representatives of all clubs of deputies. At the same time, the Council asks the STV central director to ensure in the program, as of May, 60 to 80 minutes a month for the views of representatives of those extraparliamentary political entities that achieved at least 2 percent of the electoral vote in the parliamentary elections. The Council also approved the principle that the first "Aktuality" program [main newscast broadcast at 1930 local time] will be exclusively news-oriented (without commentaries), with greater emphasis on coverage of developments across Slovakia.

The Council asks that the idea be reconsidered of returning to the operation of the Television (as well as Radio) Council according to the principle of proportional representation of all decisive political entities. The statement draws attention to the fact that this would once again turn the Slovak Television Council into an object of political contest.

Moravcik Reacts to CNN Complaint on License

AU2004142294

[Editorial Report] Bratislava SMENA in Slovak on 16 April on page 12 carries a 200-word TA SR report entitled "CNN Protests." The report states that the U.S. Cable News Network (CNN) company, which is one of the applicants for a license to broadcast on the STV (Slovak Television) 2 channel, which is to be partly privatized, "accused Slovak legislators of discriminating against foreign companies in the competition for a license to broadcast on the second Slovak Television channel." Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 18 April on page 1, under the headline "Discrimination in the Law on Tenders?," carries a 200-word TA SR report on Prime Minister Jozef Moravcik's response to the CNN complaint.

According to the Bratislava SMENA report, in a letter addressed to the Slovak parliament, the prime minister, and the president, CNN said that, "by setting four new conditions for license applicants, Slovakia has signaled that it is not interested in foreign capital" and charged that "the approach by the Slovak Council for Radio and Television Broadcasting discourages foreign investors and suggests that they are not welcome here." The CNN letter was referring to new requirements, under which foreign stake in the license holder's company must not exceed 45 percent and under which the license holder must reserve 50 percent of broadcasting time for European productions.

The Bratislava PRAVDA report on Prime Minister Moravcik's reaction states that "the Government of the Slovak Republic is greatly interested in the observance of general customs, which are also laid down in our legal system, concerning competitions and public tenders. It is from this point of view that we will assess the whole matter surrounding the report on the CNN letter." Moravcik announces that the government will "assume an official standpoint" after it has familiarized itself with "the whole case."

Government Replaces TA SR Director

LD1904172094 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1500 GMT 19 Apr 94

[Text] The Slovak Government today discussed the statement of some heads of district offices and former government plenipotentiaries in which they accuse the president of grossly offending parliamentary democracy. After thoroughly reassessing the overall situation in the state administration, in particular in order to ensure the implementation of tasks arising from the law on the reorganization of local administration, the government decided to recall 26 heads of district offices.

In addition, the government recalled Dusan Kleiman from the post of director general of the News Agency of the Slovak Republic [TA SR] and appointed Ivan Melichercik as the new director. At the same time, it agreed with the proposal to solve the economic problems of Slovak Radio and approved the request for radio broadcasts in line with the law on the state budget. The government authorized the Ministry of Culture to make this request specific so that the Ministry of Finance may provide the financing for this request.

Minister Downplays Threat of B-H Situation

LD1904173394 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1600 GMT 19 Apr 94

[Text] According to Defense Minister Lajos Fur, the grave situation in Bosnia does not threaten Hungary's security. Gyula Horvath reports on Fur's visit to Hungarian military air traffic controllers.

[Horvath] The minister has said that from the military viewpoint the agreement we concluded at the beginning of 1992 with the military leadership of Serbia and rump Yugoslavia has been successful. According to the direct link [name of the agreement], incursion into the 10-20 km border zone is prohibited and immediate contact must be established in the event of a possible border violation. This agreement has been working well since.

Therefore, should the Bosnian situation escalate even further, we will be able to preserve our present situation and security, Defense Minister Fur stressed. Answering a question, he noted that the AWACS planes using our country's airspace were only carrying out monitoring tasks and they did not assist the attacks by NATO aircraft.

Politicians on Possible MDF-MIEP Cooperation

AU1804122294 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 15 Apr 94 p 4

[Interview with Lajos Horvath, cochairman of the Hungarian Justice and Life Party, and Ferenc Kulin, parliamentary group leader and campaign chief of the Hungarian Democratic Forum, by Janos Bercsi; place and date not given: "According to Kulin, the MIEP is After the MDF's Voters—The MDF Would Not Govern Together With Csurka"]

[Text] If the largest government party is indeed able to break with [former Prime Minister] Jozsef Antall's former policies, then we can again talk about a possible coalition cooperation, Lajos Horvath says. Serious political forces do not enter into coalition agreements with parties that profess extremist principles, Ferenc Kulin says on the other hand.

Istvan Csurka, co-chairman of the Hungarian Justice and Life Party [MIEP], said at a recent political rally that, in a given situation, he also considers a coalition with the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF] possible, provided that the MDF changes its political views. However, up to now, MDF Chairman Lajos Fur and MDF Managing Chairman Sandor Lezsak have both distanced themselves from the MIEP, because of Csurka's outbursts and extreme political views. We interviewed Lajos Horvath on the MIEP's coalition intentions.

[Bercsi] The MIEP has recognized that the MDF-liberal bloc that came to power in 1990 is still holding out, but in the current situation the MDF is still less of an opponent because we have nothing to talk about with the liberals. The core of the popular-national tendency that was once grouped around Csurka is still present in the MDF. If the largest government party is indeed able to break with the former policies of Jozsef Antall, then we can again talk about possible coalition cooperation.

[Bercsi] Lezsak denied that he and Csurka had conducted lengthy talks at the apartment of Sandor Csoori [chairman of the World Federation of Hungarians] on two occasions in recent weeks.

[Horvath] I also asked Csurka and he denied news of these meetings. We have not held any kind of coordination talks with MDF leaders.

[Bercsi] On what conditions would the MIEP be willing to work with the MDF?

[Horvath] The Ministry of International Economic Relations should be turned into some kind of top ministry, which would also carry out the work of the Foreign Affairs Ministry. The MIEP does not agree with [Foreign Minister] Geza Jeszenszky's statements or the Hungarian foreign policy represented by him. In our view, the foreign minister should take our economic interests into consideration in our foreign relations. In addition to this, we would give much more freedom to the future representatives of Hungarian foreign policy. It is indispensable to change privatization fundamentally in Hungary, for which Minister Without Portfolio Tamas Szabo is unsuitable. We consider it important to change education because the awareness of being Hungarian has virtually been erased from the country's young people.

[Kulin] I can only see Csurka's "offer" as a campaign trick. The MIEP has no other possibility to build its party but to win as many members from the MDF as it can. This intention has been foiled, so Csurka is now forced to try to blur the boundaries that he himself set up! It is clear that Csurka is still trying to win the less determined MDF sympathizers over, people who are not clear about relations between the MDF and the MIEP. These people might as well believe, listening to Csurka's statements that, if the MDF and the MEIP join in a coalition in the future, then why not vote for Csurka? The only unfortunate factor is that the votes cast for the MIEP will probably be wasted because there seems to be little chance for the MIEP to reach the 5 percent necessary to get into Parliament.

[Bercsi] Would the MDF accept the MIEP's approach if it got into Parliament?

[Kulin] The foreign policy programs of the leading Hungarian political parties—including, naturally, the MDF—all intend to form optimal relations with the Eastern Central European countries and, in addition to this, integration into Western Europe is the primary goal. However, the MIEP is a political obstacle and a drawback to this, so I believe that truly serious political forces will not enter into coalition agreements with parties that profess extremist principles. At the same time, Csurka is ignoring all written and verbal rules of political ethics in all respects: For a whole year, in a most merciless fashion, he has been attacking the MDF's foreign and domestic policies that had been formed by Antall.

Fidesz Expert Views Party Economic Program

AU1904154194 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 16 Apr 94 p 15

[Interview with Laszlo Urban, leader of the economic cabinet of the Federation of Young Democrats, Fidesz, by Gabor Ferencz; place and date not given: "The Fidesz Would Make a Wage Agreement—According to Urban, Consumption Could Grow From 1997"]

[Text] The Federation of Young Democrats [Fidesz] is asking for three years before the improvement of the economic situation also becomes apparent for the population after the half-turn is made. Laszlo Urban also told our correspondent that a general agreement between the employees, employers, and the government which, above a 10 percent guaranteed level, would link wage increases to improved productivity, would be a key element of implementing their program. If it came to government, the Fidesz would radically reorganize the economic institutions, it would establish an economic top ministry and budget ministry, and it would strengthen the economic diplomacy activities of the Foreign Ministry.

[Ferencz] The Fidesz is the only party that can express its economic program in a slogan: half-turn. However, this short slogan can be interpreted many ways. What does it actually mean?

[Urban] It means a change of priorities in the budget policy. Economic growth would be the goal, but this cannot be reached through artificially suppressing the interest rates—unsuccessful attempts at this have been made in recent years—or through restriction, namely reducing the expenditure. In our view, the budget policy has to be focused on investment incentives. The deficit of the current budget cannot grow but, when the budget is planned, funds have to be created for tax allowances and measures taken to stimulate investments. This is a half-turn compared to the current practice, because the government's running expenses have increased in past years and, due to the increased budget deficit, it is precisely the investment expenditures that have been cut back.

[Ferencz] However, to make this policy successful, insensitivity to social problems has to be accepted!

[Urban] No, it does not! Insensitivity to social problems would arise if someone wanted to drastically reduce the budget expenditure, including welfare spending. However, this is suggested by parties other than the Fidesz—at least, on the level of campaign slogans. In our view, society would not accept the reduction of welfare expenditure.

[Ferencz] On the other hand, the Fidesz's experts talk about the need for voluntary wage limitation by the employees as a necessary means to curbing inflation.

[Urban] The resources for the temporary overspending that is to stimulate the investments has to be found in the budget. In our view, this can be solved through reducing the interest on the already accumulated debts. This is a huge burden because interest payments are already now reaching 20 percent of the total expenditure and this might increase to 25 percent next year. This item can only be reduced if inflation is noticeably reduced. A 5-percent reduction of inflation can decrease the interest payments by 30 to 40 billion forints. This is more than what a committed government, with a strong political support—I do not actually see any chance for this—could save through reducing the budget expenditure. However, to reduce inflation, we will need a tripartite agreement (between the state, the employees, and the employers) which will cool down the inflation expectations. It has to be achieved that wage increases should basically be linked to increased productivity.

[Ferencz] Can this be regulated through a central pact in a market economy?

[Urban] A central pact can provide a positive background for the bargaining at company level although, naturally, cannot replace it. As early as the end of 1993, some of the employers attempted to set the automatic wage increases at the lowest possible level, and to establish a connection between wage increases and the increase of productivity. However, on a national level, it was precisely the government's representative who first called this untenable. A central agreement can force the representatives of employers and employees at every company to face the question: Do they consider it more important to preserve the workplaces even at the cost of lower wages or will they accept the dismissals and fight for a higher wage for the people who stay? The government cannot decide this but it can establish favorable conditions for the bargaining. The view of the trade unions obviously is that more burdens cannot be placed on the employees, therefore, wage increases at least have to counterbalance inflation. However, in a stagnating economy, this would actually contribute to maintaining inflation.

[Ferencz] Therefore, the Fidesz's experts attribute a decisive importance to inflation expectations in the actual increase of prices. However, the experience of the past few years seems to contradict this: Between 1990 and 1993, the inflation expectations—and even the inflation forecasts—at the beginning of the year always exceeded the level measured at the end of the year.

[Urban] The analyses prove that at least half of the inflation is wage inflation. The speed of price increases stopped receding in the past year, and I attribute the reduction in the former years to the dampening effect of the recession and to a consequence of the exchange policy that was revaluing in real terms. However, the latter was double-edged because it placed the costs of curbing inflation on the exporting companies and this backfired in 1993. If we want to face the fact that there is an over-distribution in the Hungarian economy compared to the level that would be supported by our productivity then we either cut the budget expenditure drastically—but this does not have the necessary political support—or we have to make self-restricting wage agreements. Private companies are inclined to do this

anyway, and the managers of state-owned enterprises could be encouraged in contracts made with them to implement this central agreement.

[Ferencz] How well developed is the Fidesz's program on changing the economic policy institutional system?

[Urban] The economic policy mistakes of the past four years can largely be attributed to the lack of a chief economic strategist in the government, and the rivalries between the various economic-type ministries. It is completely ridiculous for a minister who is responsible for the economy to have the same number of votes on economic policy issues in the government as ministers who have nothing to do with the economy: This makes it impossible to make strategic decisions. According to our concept, an economic top ministry should be set up based on the economic policy experts from the Finance Ministry, the Industry and Trade Ministry, the Ministry of International Economic Relations, and other ministries, while the economic diplomacy activities of the Foreign Ministry should be strengthened. At the same time, based on the Finance Ministry's staff, a ministry dealing with budget issues could be established, thus ending the situation where strategic decisions are also determined by daily fiscal considerations.

[Ferencz] How long would it take for the results of the Fidesz's economic policy to manifest themselves?

[Urban] The already mentioned tripartite agreement would establish the opportunity for a breakthrough. If we managed to complete this by the autumn of 1994, it would be possible to anticipate lower inflation and increasing investment activity when planning the 1995 budget. Economic growth could begin, however, based on this, the reform of state administration would first have to be implemented in 1996, it could be decided what kind of expenditure can be removed from the state treasury. In the following year, in 1997, the expansion of consumption would also be noticeable to the people.

Free Democrat Leader Views Election Chances

AU1904170594 Budapest PESTI HIRLAP in Hungarian 16-17 Apr 94 p 5

[Interview with Gabor Kuncze, prime ministerial candidate of the Alliance of Free Democrats, by Zoltan Fekete; place and date not given: "The SZDSZ Is Not Planning a Political Cleanup"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Fekete] When you were elected list leader, that is, prime ministerial candidate, by your party, many people thought that history was repeating itself in the Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ]. This means that, after the so-called inner city "hard core" had placed [former Chairman] Peter Tolgyessy in the center, it again wants to put a presentable, and even likable, person in the center who can be accepted by the country's public. Are you not afraid that you will also be pushed in the background like your party chairman predecessor was if you do not obey the "hard core"?

[Kuncze] On the one hand, I do not believe in the existence of anything like an inner-city "hard core" and, on the other hand, if Tolgyessy was here, he would probably object strongly to having been placed into his position by a non-existent "hard core." Tolgyessy was elected party chairman by a large majority of the national meeting of delegates, while I was elected list leader and prime ministerial candidate on the basis of the recommendation of the executive body of the SZDSZ's National Council. I believe that my candidacy has the support of the whole SZDSZ membership.

[Fekete] By rejecting the existence of the "hard core," you obviously do not wish to deny the existence of a sharp contrast between the line represented by [SZDSZ Chairman] Ivan Peto, Miklos Haraszti, and Balint Magyar, and the Tolgyessy wing?

[Kuncze] The SZDSZ does have various trends and platforms but, to the best of my knowledge, Tolgyessy has not joined any of these. However, these platforms and views are not determined according to the dwelling places of the members, and the contrast between them is not as sharp as you suggest. The Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF] is not divided according to where its members live, either.... [passage omitted]

[Fekete] How can you now describe cooperation between the parties of the Liberal Bloc? I mainly ask this because a Federation of Young Democrats [Fidesz] deputy recently said that overtaking the SZDSZ, and to come out of the election campaign as the biggest Hungarian liberal party are the most important goals for the Fidesz.

[Kuncze] I can confidently say that cooperation between the liberal parties is running smoothly, we have completed the coordination of our election programs and, although we have differences, these are not unbridgeable. As for the statements of the Fidesz politician, I certainly agree with him because we are running in the elections separately and we are rivals as well as allies. This is perfectly natural, just as the fact that differences exist between the two parties. I trust that liberals will be governing in Hungary after the 1994 elections. [passage omitted]

[Fekete] [passage omitted] The SZDSZ has an advertisement that states that you would reduce government expenditure after you come to power. It is very attractive that you take the money out of your pocket in advance. What will happen to the tax burden of the citizens?

[Kuncze] We are serious about our intention to reduce the government's expenditure because otherwise it is impossible to convince the citizens that the government is handling their tax forints responsibly, that it does not spend the money lightly while it is earned by the taxpayers with hard work. On the other hand, the SZDSZ's economic experts believe that a significant reduction of expenditure is indeed necessary to end the current terrible state of the economy. The SZDSZ's plans include tax reductions both in the economic organizations and the private sphere. [passage omitted]

[Fekete] In your view, will we need a government of experts?

[Kuncze] The next government will also be formed by politicians and the political positions will be occupied by politicians. At the same time, we need politicians who are familiar with the area they are to manage and control. In this sense, we need experts, but I emphasize that this does not mean that the ministerial positions will be occupied by experts who are independent of parties.

[Fekete] [Hungarian Socialist Party Chairman] Gyula Horn recently promised that some dismissed radio workers will be placed back into their positions, although he did not actually promise a clean-up. Is it possible that the SZDSZ will also launch these kinds of measures, or are you more in favor of legal solutions?

[Kuncze] I would like to see an end to fear in this country once and for all, and for this very reason I am not going to react to any threats, and I do not even like to listen to them. Under an SZDSZ government, no one needs to be afraid of any kind of political clean-up. It is a different matter that we need good professionals in the various positions of state administration; if someone is well-prepared and suitable for his job then we will not look at his party affiliation or who placed him into his job. However, if the person is unsuitable for his tasks then he must go, again, regardless of his party affiliation. Therefore, people who are good at what they are doing have nothing to be afraid of.

[Fekete] Three weeks before the elections, how many parties have a chance to get into Parliament?

[Kuncze] As far as I can judge, the same six parliamentary parties that the electors gave legislative tasks in 1990 have a chance to get into Parliament. I am now talking about reaching the 5-percent limit; it is quite possible that some representatives of other parties will also be elected to Parliament. [passage omitted]

[Fekete] How many parliamentary mandates do you think the SZDSZ will get in May?

[Kuncze] We have the chance to repeat our 1990 performance and gain 90 to 100 parliamentary seats. If we succeed in this then it will be certain that the liberal parties together will be unavoidable factors in the next governmental cycle.

Interior Minister on MDF, Coalition Prospects

AU1904111694 Budapest UJ MAGYARORSZAG in Hungarian 18 Apr 94 p 4

[Interview with Interior Minister Imre Konya by Petan in Pilisvorosvar on 17 April: "A Decision Must Be Made"]

[Text] Interior Minister Imre Konya visited the Pilis-basin on 17 April, and then participated in a rally organized by the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF] and the National Federation of Political Prisoners [POFOSZ] in Pilisvorosvar. After his program, Imre Konya gave an interview to UJ MAGYARORSZAG.

[Petan] Mr. Konya! In view of the presentation of candidates, in your opinion, to what extent will the national forces scatter?

[Konya] No doubt, it is dangerous that there are parties, like Jozsef Torgyan and Istvan Csurka's parties, that can take votes away from the MDF with their radical formulations against the Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP]. Because they will hardly be able to exceed the 5 percent threshold, they will actually give their votes to those against whom they are taking a stand. After the presentation of candidates, one can conclude that there is less danger in connection with the Hungarian Justice and Life Party [MIEP], because they failed to present candidates in many counties, and this means that they will definitely remain under the 5 percent threshold. Therefore, whoever votes for them will actually support the other side.

[Petan] The prime minister has repeatedly stressed recently that it is impossible to envisage any talks with the Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ] as long as a tough core leads this party. What if the hard core is forced out of the leadership?

[Konya] I do not think it is tactful to engage in speculations regarding the internal affairs of another party. It is a fact that there is a border line, because the SZDSZ made it clear that they do not regard a coalition with the MSZP as impossible. For us, however, it is clear that we will not form a coalition with the MSZP under any circumstances. At the same time, I would also like to say that, among the current SZDSZ deputies, there are people who cannot envisage a coalition government with the MSZP, and I know these people. Let me also say that, in the course of the elections, the voters should not rely on their emotions. A decision must be made. The coming years will tell whether we can realize our opportunities and catch up with the West. There is no time for jumping back and forth, and there is no time for changing governments around. Therefore, what is at stake in these elections is whether we can continue on the road we have started or whether we turn back. MDF or MSZP? Those who are afraid should be told that everyone goes into the voting booth alone and the elections are secret. I hope that the healthy instinct of the nation will prevail if everyone goes to vote. One cannot imagine that people would vote against their own interests.

[Petan] What is your opinion about the order of the Finance Ministry according to which, beginning with 1 May, everyone who enters Hungary must show that he possesses 5,000 forints or an equivalent sum in hard currency? This regulation affects many poor Transylvanians and ethnic Hungarians living beyond our borders who do not come here to trade goods or do any business....

[Konya] It is difficult to find a balance between the interests of the public security of the country and the border areas and keeping contact with these people. Obviously, we will not introduce a visa requirement for public security reasons, but the situation requires certain

measures. It is unfortunate that contacts between people become more difficult as a result; therefore, we are constantly following the developments and we will stop this new requirement as soon as the situation makes this possible.

EKGP Chairman on Election, Coalition

AU2004101894 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 19 Apr 94 p 5

["CS.I."-signed interview with Agricultural Minister Janos Szabo, chairman of the United Smallholders Party; place and date not given: "Our Program Is Based on Four Years of Achievements"]

[Text] In our series, we publish interviews with heads of parties who presented national lists. It is clearly an electoral advantage that the United Smallholders' Party [EKGP] accepted a coalition role in the past four years—as pointed out by Janos Szabo, agricultural minister and EKGP chairman. We asked Janos Szabo about coalition desires, the split among the smallholders, and agricultural matters.

[MAGYAR HIRLAP] As a village party, what does the EKGP suggest to solve the current crisis in the agricultural sector?

[Szabo] Everyone is trying to effect a brainwash! If the crisis is a radical and revolutionary change, then this is what is really taking place: the biggest transition in land ownership in our 1,100 year history! Despite all our problems and the international recession, a decreasing domestic market, the loss of our eastern markets, drought, and a chronic shortage of capital, 1994 will be the year of growth in agricultural reserves. The economy has priority in the EKGP program. This program is based on four years of hard work and outstanding achievements. The Group of 36 in the parliament played a major role in all this, because this faction fulfilled the majority of the party's program.

[MAGYAR HIRLAP] If you were to become part of the new government, what would be your first measure to benefit villagers?

[Szabo] We would guarantee greater state support for the agricultural sector; we would export quality products to the West; we would urge a reasonable tax reduction; and we would let the owners get a bit richer. It is an open wound in the agricultural sector that, of 1.1 million part-owners of business, only 300 are completely involved in the business; this situation requires an urgent solution.

[MAGYAR HIRLAP] Does the fact that the Group of 36 and later the EKGP participated in the coalition represent an advantage or a disadvantage?

[Szabo] During transitional periods, the time required for the maturation of a politician is rather short. But one wears out quickly, both morally and politically, and the coalition wears out quickly also. The change involves traumatic elements. It is possible that, according to some voters, playing a role in the coalition represents a disadvantage.... But one should not be shortsighted! In spite of all the transitional difficulties, the last four years have made real history! We instituted private property and the framework of a constitutional state; despite all the difficulties, there is stability in Hungary and, therefore, it makes no difference what the professional pessimists say. Those who are affected by compensation, land ownership, and the assignment of lands—some 4-5 million voters—should realize that the government has compensated them. We started six months ago, and we succeeded in presenting 14 territorial lists and 56 candidates. It is clearly an advantage for the Group of 36 and the EKGP to be part of the coalition.

[MAGYAR HIRLAP] With which parties would you happily form a coalition and under what conditions? Would you demand a certain ministry?

[Szabo] We would gladly form a coalition with the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF] and the Christian Democratic People's Party [KDNP] if we make it into the parliament, but we do not exclude any other party, with the exception of the Workers Party and the Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP]. A good agreement is the basis of correct coalition relations contacts! This agreement should include proportional party decisionmaking in accordance with said party's power as represented in parliament. Larger parties should not have greater decisionmaking rights in the parliament; smaller parties should not have smaller rights. We do not have a list of ministerial demands, but our party clearly prefers the Agricultural Ministry.

[MAGYAR HIRLAP] The smallholders are divided: there are four parties on the political palette. You repeatedly declared that Jozsef Torgyan, chairman of the Independent Smallholders' Party [FKGP], is the obstacle hindering union.

[Szabo] The only difference between the programs of the various smallholders parties—the FKGP, the Historical Smallholders' Party, the Compromise Smallholders' Party, and the EKGP—is the way they go about doing things, but there is no difference regarding the essence of their programs. In the villages, simple people and smallholders-oriented voters are not divided, and there is a basic demand for a single large party to represent the small landowners in politics. Nor is there any particular importance attached to which party was in the coalition and which party was not. We should be united, and the EKGP is doing everything in its power to achieve this unity. Jozsef Torgyan is an obstacle! He should step aside and leave the road, so that unity can emerge.

Report on Meeting With NATO Representatives

WS1904161894 Warsaw POLSKA ZBROJNA in Polish 19 Apr 94 p 2

[Article by Jan Forowicz: "Poland-NATO; Breaking the Barriers"]

[Text] In the cooperation we have had so far between the Central European states and NATO, we have already reached the limits of efficiency, and we need more dynamic forms, said one of the speakers at a roundtable session in the Sejm.

Participating in the conference is a group of more than 10 representatives of the North Atlantic Assembly, a political-advisory body of NATO, with Chairman Loice Bouverde, Secretary General Peter Corterier, Jose Pereira, head of the subcommittee on Central Europe and the former Soviet Union, and functionaries of the NATO apparatus. The numerous high-ranking officials include representatives of Belarus, Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Lithuania, Latvia, the Russian Federation, and Romania. Poland is represented by several Sejm deputies and senators, representatives of the Ministry of National Defense, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, teh Academy of National Defense, and others.

Sejm Speaker Jozef Oleksy underscored the expectations of Poland and, as it seems, of all interested states in our region, to enhance the guarantees of international security through cooperation with NATO. He also recalled the thesis that there is the possibility of various advancement in the construction of links, with the use of the platforms on which there are no longer any differences between us. "We appreciate the significance of the Partnership for Peace program. We will implement it. However, it does exhaust our political aspirations."

The roundtable discussion consists of three sessions. The first one presents "NATO's Perception of Future Relations With Central Europe," the second, "Perception of Central European States' Future Relations With NATO," and the third, "Prospects for Neutral and Nonaligned States." Hans Jochem Peters, head of the liaison section in the Political Affairs Department in NATO, pointed, among other things, to the importance that is being attached to the Partnership for Peace program. Vernon Penner, political adviser to the commander in chief of allied forces in Europe, posed the question of whether Poland and other states applying for membership in NATO are ready to share the burden of NATO's duties in resolving international problems. Later on, he added that "there are not many states such as Poland that thoroughly understand the entire issue."

Commander Ian Clapham, staff officer in the office of special adviser to the commander in chief of the organization in Europe, responsible for cooperation, characterized the state of contacts that have already been made. In 1993, the Central and East European states took part in 220 joint military activities with NATO. In 1994, there will be approximately 350 such initiatives. Among other activities, this October there are scheduled joint Polish-Czech-British-Dutch exercises of battalions in the Netherlands, the task of which will be to test the feasibility of cooperation in peacekeeping operations.

Cdr. Clapham reviewed the contacts to date on the so-called second level (the first level are talks and decisions among high-ranking politicians)—that is, experts, commanders in charge of maneuvers, participants in seminars and courses. He said that Slovakia had been given advice on how to organize rapid deployment forces; Moldova, Romania, and Bulgaria were shown computer support of military exercises; various problems of the fleets of Albania and Bulgaria were jointly analyzed. He said that "the most substantive example of joint action" were the early-warning flights over Hungary in connection with the Balkan conflict.

The speakers characterized the main barriers to further cooperation. "In contacts with some partners, we have a trust gap," it was generally agreed. In the case of members of CIS, a certain problem would be the different plans to transform military structures—some of them are being changed quite significantly, others have preserved a typically Soviet structure. Another problem is the knowledge of Western languages; in Poland, only 200 officers speak such languages, whereas there should be at least several times as many. However, there are also states in the East in which this can be said of only a few dozen officers. Important problems are also distances—for example, between Kazakhstan and NATO Headquarters, as well as the poor communications network.

However, generally speaking, "the possibilities for passive cooperation are petering out. We have reached the limits of efficiency in this form of cooperation. We must enhance the clarity, raise the level of trust, and grant greater assistance to your states in the establishment of Armed Forces that are an element of democracy," said I. Clapman.

Walesa on Conflicts With Government Coalition

LD1804192194 Warsaw TV Polonia Network in Polish 1730 GMT 18 Apr 94

[Excerpts] Lech Walesa said that amendments to the Constitution would mean not only new parliamentary but also new presidential elections. This was in response to a proposal to amend the Small Constitution tabled by the government coalition deputies who want the Sejm, not the president, to have the last word on appointing members of the government.

[Begin recording] [Correspondent Katarzyna Kolenda] In an interview for Lithuanian television, Lech Walesa said that he had to give an example for the future because, according to him, the rules of the Constitution should not be changed according to the political situation.

[Walesa] The president guards the Constitution, and if he is elected and has agreed to a Constitution, this Constitution cannot be changed in the midddle of the presidential term of office. The system cannot be

changed in the middle of the term because then an honest president has to prevent this from happening by using all available means.

[Kolenda] The Democratic Left Alliance [SLD] has officially invited the president to take part in the meeting of its parliamentary floor group.

[Kwasniewski, SLD leader, identified by screen caption] I am ready for these talks. Everything is up to the president because it is better to keep talking. [passage omitted]

[Kolenda] Both sides declare that the talks are the only way of solving this conflict, the conflict that has been going on for some weeks. It is known unofficially that the president and the coalition have set conditions that exclude any meeting. Everything points to the fact that a solution to the conflict and an appointment of the new finance minister are still far away. [end recording]

Walesa To Meet SLD Deputies, Discuss Issues

WS2004104994 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 20 Apr 94 p 1

[Article by J.B.L.: "Today's Meeting Between President and SLD Deputies; Walesa Will Go to the Field"]

[Text] Yesterday morning Lech Walesa received an invitation to meet with the Deputies' Club of the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD]. The president decided to accept it because "one does not refuse to meet organized social forces of over five or 10 persons." The president's spokesman stated that the meeting will be held today at 1700. As it seems, the subject of the meeting will be the conflict between the coalition and the Belweder. At noon, the president is supposed to meet with Sejm Speaker Jozef Oleksy.

Commenting on the proposal of amending the Small Constitution, Lech Walesa said in an interview for the PAP press agency that he cannot underestimate an initiative that "may be a great fire. Therefore, I must sometimes, at the beginning, strike in such a way as to make everyone think."

The president also said: "I will not do anything that would show that I am violating the law. I will ask the people whether the Basic Law and the political system of the country may be changed when some political group is built for two hours.... I will establish a force that will not allow this to happen, and it was in this sense that I said this force will resolve the parliament. It will be entitled to that. It is in the interest of the state and in the interest of each of us to see to it that any accidental changes in the system do not take place.... I reacted in this way in the name of responsibility for the future of the state."

Asked about his reaction to the self-governmental elections ordered by the prime minister, Lech Walesa stated that Waldemar Pawlak should not have done this because the deadline for signing the electoral law is 21 April. He said that it was the first time he had to complain about the prime minister, and he points out to him that one should not act this way. The president also announced that, starting on Friday, he would go to the field, he would discuss all these issues with people, and he would persuade them to force their deputies to resolve problems well and logically.

"We would like to tell the president about the intentions we have when we are resolving a dispute between the supreme authorities of the state," said SLD Spokesman Zbigniew Siemiatkowski—"a dispute that, as a consequence, may paralyze them and cause imponderable results."

Siemiatkowski would not confirm that the meeting, proposed only by the SLD (the club of the Polish Peasant Party—the PSL—has not invited the president to a talk so far), proves that the SLD is carrying the burden of the conflict with the president. He also said that a meeting with the entire club does not rule out the possibility of talks in a smaller group; he did not want to discuss any conditions or limits of the compromise that the SLD is willing to reach. He stressed that there will be no preliminary conditions on which both parties would be ready to meet. According to the SLD spokesman, the prime minister had to schedule the elections for 19 June because it was the only possible date.

It is unofficially evaluated in the Sejm that today's meeting proves that the parties to the conflict want to reach an agreement. This would mean that it would not be necessary to amend the Small Constitution, and the president may unblock the issue of the nomination to the vacant posts in the government.

A meeting of the governing coalition was scheduled to take place on Tuesday [19 April] evening. The plans were complicated by the prolonged session of the government. Nonetheless, late in the evening, in the premises of the Office of the Council of Ministers, there was a meeting of the representatives of the coalition, including Aleksander Kwasniewski, Jozef Oleksy, and Jerzy Szmajdzinski of the SLD, as well as the PSL's Jozef Zych. Journalists did not receive any information on the subject of the talks.

Charges of Walesa Dictatorial Intent 'Rubbish'

WS1904160894 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 19 Apr 94 p 3

[Interview with Lech Falandysz, deputy chief of the President's Office, by Agnieszka Kublik; place and date not given: "New Political System Means New Elections"]

[Text] [Kublik] Rumor has it that you have not been sleeping well since you have been trying to find an answer to the question of how to dissolve parliament by lawful means. If the president were to ask you now whether you managed to come up with something, what would you tell him?

[Falandysz] I would tell him that for now, I know of no such way. But if the coalition manages to change the political system—that is, if it takes the right to influence the government's composition away from the president—one should consider whether the Small Constitution does not allow for a dissolution of parliament. I think that the coalition, while submitting a motion for an amendment to

the Small Constitution, considered the possibility of new parliamentary and presidential elections.

[Kublik] Why would the coalition think that?

[Falandysz] I hope that serious politicians are aware that a change in the political system should result in new elections. I do not even rule out the possibility that the Sejm itself will come to the conclusion that it has changed the political system and then the Sejm will dissolve itself.

[Kublik] I hope you do not really mean that. After all, your boss has announced that he is ready to take an extralegal measure, even if he were to face the Tribunal of State for that. The Small Constitution allows for the possibility of dissolving the Sejm in three situations only: if the Sejm does not adopt a budget in the prescribed time period, if it adopts a no-confidence vote against the government while failing to appoint a prime minister, or if the Sejm fails to nominate a new government. None of the above situations apply to what we have right now.

[Falandysz] One cannot rule out anything in politics.

[Kublik] Some people fear that the president, while ignoring legal provisions, will write a "Consider yourself dismissed" letter to the prime minister. This is how he recalled Henryk Wujec in the past, from the post of secretary of the Citizens Committee, and, most recently, this is how he recalled Marek Markiewicz, chief of the National Radio and Television Broadcasting Council.

[Falandysz] There is no analogy there, but I cannot rule out such a situation. One would have to think more about it.

[Kublik] But what do you want to think about when the Constitution does not provide that the president is empowered to dismiss the prime minister?

[Falandysz] But one cannot exclude the possibility that, if the president withdraws his support for the prime minister, the latter would offer his resignation and then one would have to begin appointing a new government.

[Kublik] Why would the prime minister want to resign? After all, he enjoys support in the Sejm of almost 300 Sejm deputies for the coalition.

[Falandysz] Imagine a prime minister who does not enjoy the support of the head of state. How could he represent Poland abroad? Theoretically, the prime minister could be dismissed and a new government formed. The president could make that difficult.

[Kublik] In what way?

[Falandysz] The Small Constitution provides that the president has a final say in appointing a government, even if the government was elected by the Sejm. But the president also has the possibility of not appointing such a cabinet.

[Kublik] Why? After all, appointing a cabinet is just a formality because the Sejm has voted it through, anyway.

[Falandysz] If one were to interpret the Constitution in a presidential-parliamentary way, there is the possibility of the president not appointing a government. The Small Constitution clearly provides: "in case the Council of Ministers is not appointed..." So that means that the president does not have to make the appointment. And, if there is no government formed, the president could dissolve parliament.

Do you know that there are countries where the president is always empowered to dissolve parliament? Such a possibility is contained in the Belweder's constitutional draft.

[Kublik] Is the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD] the Belweder's main enemy right now? It does not look like Walesa is attacking the Polish Peasant Party [PSL].

[Falandysz] Let me put in another way: It is not the PSL that is behind all of the antipresidential measures. It is the SLD that is antipresidential. From the very beginning, SLD men have wanted to reduce presidential powers. And then there were their attempts, aimed at the three Belweder ministries. Walesa has for years fought the kind of regime that is currently being promoted by what is today the SLD, where the United Peasant Accord was just a vassal. And this is the way it continues to be. I once said that the president treats Pawlak as his younger brother. But one can still have arguments, even with one's younger brother.

[Kublik] The SLD accuses Walesa of striving for dictatorship.

[Falandysz] That is rubbish. All the president does is maintain his constitutional powers. They find it extremely hard to come to terms with the fact that he, for instance, makes decisions on personnel issues in the Defense, Internal Affairs, and Foreign Affairs Ministries. They are used to a monopoly—they have to have everything: the finance minister, the ownership transformations minister, the police, the Army, foreign affairs, and the chief customs official.

[Kublik] Will the president meet the SLD Sejm Deputies Club at Kwasniewski's invitation?

[Falandysz] I am not sure it is a good idea for the president to hold meetings with political parties. The Constitution provides for another possibility: Article 38 states that "regarding issues of special importance to the state, the president is empowered to call sessions of the Council of Ministers and to chair them." I think that would be a more appropriate forum for a constructive debate on the current situation.

Daily on Possibility of 'State of Emergency'

WS1904113094 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 19 Apr 94 p 2

[Article by Kazimierz Groblewski, Zbigniew Lentowicz, and Jerzy Pilczynski: "The Belweder Putsch"]

[Text] Let us make the assumption that everything is for real—that the coalition does not want to blackmail the president but wants to really restrict his powers, that the president not only wanted to frighten the coalition but will really dissolve the Sejm. In other words, let us assume that

it is not merely a game but that the coalition and the president will really do what they said they would do.

Right now, the president does not have any possibility of dissolving the Sejm in line with the law. Now, if he does dissolve the Sejm, it will be illegal (this will be discussed below).

There will be no one who would be able to bring the president before the State Tribunal for dissolving the Sejm illegally. This can be done only by the National Assembly, which will no longer exist (unless the coalition amends this article of the Small Constitution).

It may also happen that the Sejm speaker will not act on the president's decision and will convene the National Assembly anyway. The situation that will develop then will somewhat resemble a coup d'etat.

It seems that the president will not be able to dissolve the Sejm efficiently (that is, not only make the decision, but execute it)...

Without the Aid of the Army and the Police

Will he really be able to count on these services to support him?

In line with the estimates of observers, during the last election, a substantial part of the cadres supported the Democratic Left Alliance. "Nevertheless, among the officers. there would certainly be people who would definitely support the president's decision to dissolve the parliament. Most of them, however, would consider such a measure to be an illegal attempt on democracy, says a high-ranking officer.

"The president is enjoying considerable respect among the military people for what he is doing for the defense system," he says, confirming our information. He immediately adds, however, that, in other areas, the Belweder is evaluated very critically by the cadres. The Army hopes that, just as in previous disputes, this one will also be resolved where it emerged—at the political platform—and that the Army will be able to keep away from the commotion.

"It Would Be A Misfortune

...for all of us, particularly for the Army, if even in the most acute political conflict, one of the parties asked the Army for support," claims Colonel Wieslaw Rozbicki, spokesman of the Ministry of National Defense [MON].

Theoretically, in the present composition of the National Defense Committee [KOK], which is empowered to, among other things, forward a motion to the president requesting the imposition of the state of emergency, the people linked to the Belweder are in a majority. Apart from the KOK chairman—the president himself—the core of the committee "proper for dealing with the issues of defense and security of the state" is made up of the heads of the so-called presidential ministries: the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and MON (the defense minister is, by his office, the deputy of the KOK chairman), and the head of the General Staff, appointed by the commander in chief of the Armed Forces, as well as the KOK secretary, who also steers the National Security Council. This group also includes a member of the President's Office, appointed by the president.

The minority "progovernmental" option within KOK, in a hypothetical conflict, includes first of all the prime minister (whom the KOK chairman has appointed as his first deputy), the speakers of both chambers of parliament, and the head of the Finance Ministry. The decisions of a collective body such as KOK are made by a majority of votes. Thus, the propresidential section of KOK has a theoretical chance to win the ballot on forwarding a motion to the president, requesting the imposition of a state of emergency.

We asked Lech Falandysz, secretary of state in the President's Office, whether he believes that the president will dissolve the Sejm, even if he were to violate the law.

"If the coalition implemented its initiative—that is, if we really witnessed a change in the political system—one would have to think about what to do. As a rule, it so happens in democratic countries that a change in the political system is accompanied by new elections. I do not think that the president will decide to violate the law. Therefore,

The Sejm Will Not Be Dissolved

...if the law does not allow him to do so. He may take advantage of the formula of 'bowing to higher priorities.' However, I do not think so because it is a general and bad formula. Well, the option of a 'lesser evil' might be chosen, but we have already had that."

"The president will not yield to blackmail; however, I believe that he will not violate the law, either," we were told by Lech Falandysz.

The interviews we have conducted with the representatives of several groupings—Henryk Wujec of the Democratic Union, Jerzy Eysymontt of the Non-Party Bloc in Support of Reforms, Krzysztof Krol of the Confederation for an Independent Poland, and Piotr Zak of "Solidarity"—suggest that none of them...

Would Approve of a Violation of the Law

...by the president.

The provisions of the Small Constitution are in this case not very favorable to the president, and, in addition, they are rather clear. If Walesa wanted to choose Yeltsin's option, the senate is an obstacle. Article 19 of the Small Constitution does empower the president and the Sejm to order a referendum; however, first the senate must give its consent.

The constitutional law entitles the president to impose a state of emergency on part or on the whole of the state's territory. There are two reasons to do this: first, a natural calamity, and, second, a threat to the internal security of the state. Even though it seems that it is quite a broad concept, it can be extended only to certain limits. When a state of emergency is in effect, the Sejm cannot be dissolved, and the electoral laws as well as the Constitution cannot be changed. As far as the specific conditions of the functioning of a state

of emergency are concerned, the Constitution makes a reference to a specific law. It was passed in 1983 and was amended when constitutional amendments were being passed in 1989. A state of emergency would merely freeze the situation and not resolve the problem. In addition, it can be prolonged only once every three months, after the Sejm gives its consent. Thus, after three months, it would be necessary to submit a report on the illegal introduction of the state of emergency to the same parliament.

One might think about another possibility, a different sequence of events: The president first dissolves the Sejm, then imposes the state of emergency. However, the Small Constitution envisions four cases in which the president can dissolve the Sejm; three of them contain clear limitations. None of them are possible right now. One might speculate even further and include the presidential powers in the extraordinary activities defined in Article 28 of the Constitution; it says that the president sees to it that the Constitution is observed and defends the sovereignty and security of the state. However, it is difficult to imagine that such activities might go against any clear provisions of the Constitution.

Results of Recent Polls

Majority Think Government Breaks Promises

WS1904160994 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 19 Apr 94 p 2

[Aarticle by R.W.: "OBOP Poll; Government Does Not Keep Its Promises"]

[Text] *The government's composition is good—so think 39 percent of respondents polled by the Public Opinion Research Center [OBOP] at the end of March. Exactly the same proportion of people think the government's composition is bad. As time goes by, the proportions are getting worse, from the standpoint of the current governing team. There are more critics now than in November (21 percent), when the government was beginning its term, whereas there are clearly fewer satisfied people (it used to be 51 percent). The view still prevails that Pawlak's government is better than Suchocka's, but there are fewer and fewer people who think that. Very few people are willing to defend the argument that the 19 September winners are keeping their election promises.*

The current cabinet's composition is liked by farmers the most and by private entrepreneurs the least. People with left-wing views and those who voted for the Polish Peasant Party last year have more praise for the Cabinet (this applies even more to those who voted for the Democratic Left Alliance).

Those who think the current government is superior to the previous one are mostly people with high school diplomas, at most. They inhabit small towns and sympathize with the parties forming the governing coalition. Suchocka's Cabinet is evaluated more highly by people with a higher education, living in larger cities, and supporters of the Democratic Union and of right-wing parties.

Slightly over half the respondents (51 percent) agree that Pawlak's government has been introducing some changes, every 25th person (4 percent) is of the view that the government is making a major breakthrough, and every third person (35 percent) thinks that the government contributes nothing new to the policies in effect before. In the fall of last year, many more people evauated Pawlak's cabinet as reform-oriented.

The view prevails in the OBOP poll that the government is not keeping its election promises—so think 63 percent of the polled (in November of last year, 26 percent). The opposite view—that promises are being kept—is defended by 25 percent of those polled (48 percent in the previous poll). There is no longer a single social, professional, or demographic group in which the view would prevail that the governing team is keeping what it promised during the election campaign.

* * *

The poll of 23-29 March was conducted by using a 1,197-person all-nation random sample of Poland's residents.

'Distaste' for Liberal Values Noted

WS1904134394 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 19 Apr 94 p 6

[Article by "NIKA": "Free Market Gives to the Rich but Takes From the Poor; PENTOR—What Do Poles Think About Liberalism?"]

[Text] *Almost half of the Polish people feel distaste for political and economic liberalism—this according to the most recent survey by PENTOR. Thirty-two percent of the polled are in favor of liberal values, including 24 percent who recognize the values in conjunction with simultaneous social protection by the state. Even the mere notion of "liberalism" arouses negative responses by a majority of the polled.*

From among citizens' rights, the right to social protection turned out the most important one to our society (97 percent of citizens said it is important). Among others, the right to freedom of speech (85 percent) and electoral rights (78 percent) were listed as less important. As far as fulfilling citizens' duties is concerned, caring for one's elderly parents is the most important duty (96 percent), according to those polled. Fewer people talked about the need to observe the law (95 percent), the need to pay taxes (73 percent), or about military service duty (57 percent).

People in favor of economic liberalism not accompanied by the state's social protection (8 percent of those polled) are mainly young people with higher educations.

Poles are a conservative nation that bases its values on authorities. Eighty-eight percent of those polled think that children should be taught obedience vis-a-vis their parents and that one should listen to older and more experienced people (75 percent).

Liberal principles are approved by Polish people on an ad hoc basis; the majority are in favor of state intervention and strong state power. On the other hand, we agree with the separation of church and state (69 percent).

A majority of Polish people (77 percent) are convinced that the market economy will make the rich even richer while the poor will get poorer. Those polled approve of such principles of economic transformations as privatization, the lifting of price controls, and free trade, but, at the same time, they take a suspicious view of people involved in independent economic activities. Even the mere notions of "liberalism" and "liberal" bring negative images to the respondents' minds.

Despite this, Polish people are of the view that enterprises run by private owners are the most efficient. This view was expressed by 67 percent of those polled.

* * *

The poll was conducted last January for the Friedrich Naumann Foundation by PENTOR, using a 1,000-person sample of adult Poles.

Coalition Deputies on Constitutional Changes

WS1904140094 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 19 Apr 94 p 2

[Article by E.Cz., E.K., and J.T.P.: "A Game or War"]

[Text] The coalition deputies' clubs will decide at their next meetings whether or not to support a bill amending the Small Constitution. Many coalition deputies have expressed the opinion that the amendment bill is an element of the game in the current conflict with the Belweder, not a desire to limit the powers of Lech Walesa. However, no one denies that this is what may really happen. There are rumors that the coalition will abandon the idea of amending the Constitution in return for the nomination of Dariusz Rosati.

What for What

The deputies who signed the bill to amend the Constitution explain officially that the Small Constitution played its role well when all of the authority centers came from the same political camp and the decisions they made showed the goodwill of all of the parties. At a moment when power in the state is wielded by political opponents at the same time, the constitutional provisions make it impossible to find solutions to conflicts. Coalition politicians unofficially admit, however, that the bill is an element of a political game in which various methods are being used.

"From a political and moral point of view, this ploy is not the worst one possible," admits one of them, who stresses that right now the dispute between the coalition and the president is not over people but over the political system. "It is being decided whether we will have a presidential system, which the president is trying to achieve through facts, or a parliamentary-cabinet system, as it is stated in the Small Constitution."

According to one of the leaders of the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD], the dispute may only be resolved by a gentlemen's agreement with the president: consent to the nomination of Rosati in return for the coalition's abandoning the idea of introducing its own people into the presidential ministries. If the president "bids higher," the coalition might also introduce into this game the National Council of Radio and Television, even though it is not interested in that for the time being. A bargaining chip is also the bill to amend the Constitution itself. Irrespective of the opinions of the clubs, if two deputies withdraw their signatures from the bill, the bill is no longer valid. For this reason, as was suggested by the SLD's Ryszard Grodzicki, who is supposed to be the reporter of this bill, the initiators did not allow more people to sign this bill. In his opinion, journalists now should not ask the initiators of the bill about its chances in the Sejm or try to figure out what constitutional ploy the president may use to neutralize parliament; they should first of all be interested in the opinion of the ministry on Rakowiecka Street [probable reference to Ministry of Internal Affairs] on this bill.

The signatories of the bill stress modestly that it is a bill submitted by some deputies, not the coalition, and it did not have to be agreed on with the clubs' leaders. The SLD's Wladyslaw Zbikowski admits, however, that, in line with the club's regulations, before the bill was actually submitted, the Presidium of the club was informed about it; the Presidium did not oppose it.

Grodzicki also suggested that such an initiative would not have been possible without the approval, or at least the knowledge, of the clubs' Presidiums. He also said that the bill was signed by 16 deputies, who are said to be the most recalcitrant deputies in their clubs and who most frequently breach the clubs' discipline. The list of names on the bill suggests, however, that this is not a very accurate opinion. As for the SLD deputies, the bill was signed primarily by deputies from Warsaw, and, as for the Polish Peasant Party [PSL], by those who happened to be in Warsaw.

Chances of the Coalition

According to the SLD's Bogdan Krysiewicz, there is no definitely antipresidential atmosphere in the club; the possibility of collective madness is also out of the question.

"We do not make a decision on supporting or rejecting a bill very hastily. It would be good if the discussion in the club were made in the presence of the president and if both sides submitted their arguments clearly," he claims.

Zbikowski believes that the bill will be backed by a definite majority of the club. His parliamentary colleagues are rather critical of the president's statements and decisions.

Opinions in the PSL Club are divided, as well. Jan Komornicki believes that the amendment bill will either be rejected in the first reading or be forwarded to the Constitutional Committee of the National Assembly and utilized during work on the new Constitution.

"No one in the PSL, including the prime minister, wants a war with the president," says Komornicki. Janusz Piechocinski adds that the PSL merely wants stable conditions for the functioning of the government and that the president has not been ensuring that recently. On Wednesday [20 April], during the club's session,

Piechocinski will try to persuade the leadership of the club to empower Deputy Speaker Jozef Zych, who is known for his ability to reach compromises and who has not said anything that might offend the dignity of the president, to take on the role of mediator between the coalition and the Belweder. Unlike SLD politicians, Piechocinski claims that the dispute is related to ambition: on whose terms the talks will start. If the bill is voted on, the club will have to take into account the opinion of the PSL Chief Council, which will convene on Saturday.

However, if we assume that the bill submitted by the deputies is merely an element of a game, it would be too early to evaluate its chances of being passed. This is confirmed by the opinion of one leftist politician, who said that "if the president manages to persuade two people to withdraw their signatures," the entire issue will no longer be valid. The same politician doubts, however, that the president will accept the invitation to the SLD Club.

What Is Going On?

The authors of the bill propose amendments to two articles in the Small Constitution: Article 4 and Article 68. The change of the former links the end of the term of office to the day of the first sitting of the new Sejm and obliges the president to order elections no earlier than three months and no later than four months from the dissolution of the Sejm. Deputy Grodzicki claims that, in the case of amending the law, the regulations would probably still include solutions that would make it impossible to launch new legislative initiatives; they would merely allow the work that has already been started to be completed and set in order. The second change would lie in the following: If the president did not change the composition of the Council of Ministers or if he refused to make such a change within seven days of the submission date of the prime minister's motion, he could request such a change—approved by an absolute majority of votes. As a result of the present state, the justification is that key posts may not be filled, which causes negative results for the activities of the government and for its efficiency. According to the authors, this amendment does not aim to limit the president's powers; it makes it possible to overcome a difficult situation, in which the president does not make a change in a ministerial post within seven days or refuses to make it.

Center Alliance's Kaczynski Interviewed

PM1904084094 Krakow CZAS KRAKOWSKI in Polish 13 Apr 94 p 5

[Interview with Center Alliance Chairman Jaroslaw Kaczynski by Amelia Lukasiak; place and date not given]

[Text] [Lukasiak] How do you assess the present economic program? Is it a continuation of the previous policy? Contrasting opinions are being voiced on this subject.

[Kaczynski] On the whole, it is a continuation of the old policy, with certain compromises made for the sake of particular causes—for example, the interests of the farming community. Of course, attempts to "dilute" the main tenets of the economic program are being made in order to disguise the fact that it is still the old program.

[Lukasiak] But the condition of the economy does not seem to be too bad. After all, in the course of one year, we recorded economic growth to the tune of 12 percent.

[Kaczynski] Precisely. If production grew by 12 percent during one year, we can assume that, with a real transformation of the state, we could achieve a result many times that. However, if this is to happen, we must cut through a network of ties and connections between a narrow band of people controlling mainly banks and large enterprises. Contrary to the expectations of such prognosticators as, for example, Professor Jadwiga Staniszkis, large capital controlled partly by private owners and partly by the state does not lead to rationalization of the economy. It is in our economic interest to transfer that capital outside and boost consumption.

[Lukasiak] If the economic program of the present government is a continuation of the previous government's policy, then why, in your opinion, does the Democratic Union criticize it?

[Kaczynski] Because, in the first place, the Democratic Union is in opposition, so it must criticize the government's policy; in the second place, as I said, the program has become diluted; finally, after finding itself in opposition, the Democratic Union seems to be changing its values slightly in relation to those it was promoting before. Let me remind you that that group carried out a policy that was openly oriented toward an eventual handing over of power to communists. All of the tenets of the Democratic Union's policy were erroneous, in both the economic and the political sphere. Now they are trying to move away from their previous line in various aspects.

[Lukasiak] How doe you assess the present power configuration? Why are the ruling parties—that is, the Polish Peasant Party [PSL] and the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD], which, after all, share the same Polish People's Republic [PPR] pedigree—unable to arrive at a joint position in such key questions?

[Kaczynski] At present, we have a triangular configuration between the Belweder, the SLD, and the PSL. There is open war going on along two arms of the triangle. Sparks also fly occasionally along the third arm,—hat is, the connection between the Belweder and the PSL—but, on the whole, the two actually engage in far-reaching cooperation. However, the association is a tactical one because I do not believe it is very likely that the farmers will give Walesa much support in the election campaign. Walesa is very unpopular in the rural community. Even the strong PSL apparatus, with its firm foothold in the rural sector, could only lose much and gain nothing if it tried to promote Walesa there. Apart from that, Walesa is an extremely disloyal partner, and the PSL is only too aware of that.

[Lukasiak] So what is the nature of the Belweder-PSL alliance? What does it rest on?

[Kaczynski] Thanks to the alliance, the weaker coalition partner—that is, the PSL—gains some real strength because

of the support it has from the Belweder and is able to break up internally the stronger partner, the SLD. The only question is, why did the SLD decide to enter into such a configuration at all? I was convinced from the start that there was a firm conditional compact concerning the solution of the question of Walesa's presidency through a speedy promulgation of the new Constitution at the beginning of 1994. However, the present developments I have watched seem to be rather naively amusing and lead me to formulate only one conclusion: It was easy to play at politics from behind the backs of the Motorized Reserve of the Citizens' Militia [ZOMO] and the Security Service and, even later, in the hothouse conditions created by the Democratic Union and Walesa, when, on the one hand, as representatives of the left-wing orientation, certain politicians belonged to the lowest paid social group and, on the other, they were able to take the most advantage of the existing economic situation.

[Lukasiak] In your opinion, how realistic are the voices, which can be heard from many directions, saying that in May we might have a new government based on the PSL, which will try to lean toward the right?

[Kaczynski] This is a logical option if you look at it from Walesa's viewpoint. However, it is only so if you assume that the PSL decides not to nominate its own presidential candidate and agrees to support Walesa. On the other hand, gaining entry into such a government could be a very attractive proposition for many politicians of the right-wing orientation who have lost their chance in their own parties.

[Lukasiak] You have already partly answered my next question, but would you still tell us what you believe is the source of the president's strength at the moment? After all, he keeps winning successive battles even though he is under criticism from both the right-wing and left-wing camps.

[Kaczynski] Walesa's strength lies in the dreadful opportunism of our political circles. The vast majority of our politicians are not capable of opposing him, either because they are too afraid or because they are hoping for some advantages if they do not stand up to him. Let me remind you that, in our debate on the Small Constitution, I moved in favor of a very precise definition of the president's range of competence, so that we should not have to face the sort of situation we are facing today. At that time, Jerzy Jaskiernia (SLD) battled determinedly in order to force through the solution we have in the Small Constitution now. After all, the PSL and the SLD together could have created the sort of government from which the president would now helplessly "bounce off" like a ball thrown against a solid wall. In 1992, having 43 seats at our disposal after the election, we formed a government in which the Interior Ministry and the National Defense Ministry remained entirely outside the Belweder's sphere of influence.

Every time, we have the same situation: Either Walesa is feared too much, or someone needs his support too much. After all, Suchocka was permanently terrified because she suspected that certain people were forever approaching Walesa about the prime minister's post and that Walesa promised that post indiscriminately to various individuals around him.

[Lukasiak] How do you assess the president's attempts to influence the formulation of the constitution, such as, for example, the proposal to set up a "people's constitutional initiative"?

[Kaczynski] That is a gambit played with an eye on the public and Solidarity, as well as a "wink" directed at the right-wing orientation: You would be well-advised to gather around me, get rid of your leaders because they have failed you, and unite under my protection....

[Lukasiak] But after your defeat in the election you yourself were ready to call a truce in your war with the president, were you not?

[Kaczynski] Let me explain the essence of my reaction at the time. It was composed of two parts. First, I was not taking back anything I had said earlier, but I was ready to try to judge the president by his deeds. If I had not said that, there would have been no alliance of the right wing today. Already as a coalition, we issued several statements directed against Walesa. We did not have to wait long for his reaction. A number of cases that had been brought against me and that by then were about to be dropped were suddenly reactivated again.

[Lukasiak] You recently said in a court case brought by Wieslaw Chrzanowski against Piotr Wierzbicki, chief editor of GAZETA POLSKA, for publishing his name on the list of so-called confidential agents that, according to your information, Chrzanowski was not a secret agent of the Security Agency [UB]....

[Kaczynski] All I said was that there was no evidence that Chrzanowski collaborated with UB, although ,in the majority of cases under investigation, such evidence had come to light. The documents to which I had access contained the information that Chrzanowski was first registered as a collaborator and subsequently struck off the list because there was no evidence of any collaboration on his part. Why was he registered in the first place? I do not know, but it is wrong to claim on the strength of it that he was a confidential agent. However, it still does not mean that Wierzbicki could not have believed so in good faith on the strength of that list because the vast majority of the names of the confident agents' list refer to people who in reality were collaborating with UB.

[Lukasiak] Is security vetting possible, or indeed necessary, today?

[Kaczynski] There will be no order here without security vetting. Security vetting is essential: I have not the slightest doubt about it. I do, however, have doubts about whether it is possible to call to account the companies set up by the old *nomenklatura*, which are now going bankrupt on a massive scale. After all, their money was transferred so many times from one place to another without actual infringement of the ownership system.

[Lukasiak] You spoke about a number of major frauds and rackets in our banking networks a long time ago. The truth behind your warnings was confirmed by reports from the Supreme Chamber of Control [NIK], but no one took particular note of them at the time. Now the fraud is slowly beginning to be disclosed to the public. Why do you think it has taken so long?

[Kaczynski] Those who are now sounding the alarm must admit our diagnosis was correct and that we did predict the outcome. Now our own warnings and advice are being kidnapped from us. I am afraid that it may turn out before very long that the Democratic Union is the mother party of all "decommunizers." Consequently, I am inclined to ask a tongue-in-cheek question of Democratic Union politicians and GAZETA WYBORCZA editors: How do they feel in the role of political "cranks"?

[Lukasiak] Thank you for talking to us.

No Agreement on Status of Russian Mission

LD2004114594 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1041 GMT 20 Apr 94

[Text] Warsaw, 20 Apr—No agreement has been reached yet and no protocol signed on the legal status of the Russian military mission in Poland that supervises the transit of its troops from Germany to Russia, Maj-Gen Zdzislaw Ostrowski, Polish Government plenipotentiary for the stationing of Russian troops in Poland, announced today. In the first quarter of this year, the transit of Russian Federation troops from the FRG through Poland proceeded according to plan.

The problem of the mission's legal status has been dragging on since the last meeting of the Polish-Russian mixed commission in September of last year, when no protocol was signed. Among the matters at issue was the question of expanding the mission's competences, as suggested by the Polish side.

The Poles proposed the setting up of a new commission attached to the military mission, which would deal with claims concerning damage caused by the troops stationed in Poland and unpaid bills for communal services. The Russians suggested that the matters at issue should be dealt with through diplomatic channels; they also claimed they had paid their dues.

There were six claims by Polish citizens and institutions in the first quarter of this year for damage totalling over 2 billion zlotys [Z]. In March, the Polish-Russian mixed commission examined 12 cases with claims exceeding Z3 billion, one claim for $331,000, and one for 122,000 DM [German marks]. Eleven of these cases were directed to diplomatic channels.

The last subunit of the Russian Army left Poland on 18 September of last year. About 25 servicemen stayed in the military mission. It is expected that in May of this year eight members of the mission, together with their families, will leave Poland.

'Positive Phenomena,' 'Dangers' Seen in Economy

WS1904102594 Warsaw NOWA EUROPA in Polish 19 Apr 94 p 1

[Article by "ZOL" and "J.K.K.": "Reward for Persistence; Economy After First Quarter"]

[Text] *A decreased rate of inflation in the first quarter of this year, compared with the last months of 1993; a high increase in industrial output, compared with the same period last year; and an improved financial situation in enterprises—these are all signs that positive phenomena in the economy, which have been reported for several months now, are acquiring a permanent nature. At the same time, serious dangers are emerging that could constitute a barrier for further improvement of the economic situation in the nearest future.*

Inflation was 1.8 percent in January of this year, 1.1 percent in February, and 2 percent in March (in November and December of last year, prices increased by 4 and 5.6 percent, respectively). In this situation, reaching a yearly inflation rate of 23-26 percent, becomes realistic.

Output by industrial enterprises in the first quarter of this year increased by 10.6 percent compared with a year ago, and, when it comes to building-and-assembly enterprises, the increase was 7.3 percent. In the first two months of this year, the financial situation of enterprises was much better than last year. The net financial results of enterprises were positive and reached a figure of 4.5 trillion zlotys (0.3 trillion a year ago). Compared with the beginning of last year, the profitability of enterprises also increased.

"There is no doubt whatsoever that the improvement in the economic situation is a cumulated effect of the previous four years," said Waldemar Kuczynski, an economic expert for the Democratic Union. "It is a reward for persistence in the continuation of economic policies that have been subjected to total ridicule and criticism despite the fact that they were one of the best policies in postcommunist Europe. These growth trends have a chance of holding, provided the fundamental economic directions taht led to these results are maintained. That means a continuation of tight monetary policies, a reduction of the inflation level and the budget deficit, and the maintenance of a maximum scope of economic freedoms.

But there are still some dangers. One of them is undoubtedly the vacuum that exists with regard to controlling earnings in state-owned companies that enjoy the position of monopolists. This vacuum is the consequence of a very risky strategy by the government when it comes to popiwek [wage-control legislation]. Apart from that, measures justifying a fight with the 'gray area' may become a major danger, under the assumption that the fight will not result in an imposition of restrictions on the freedom to conduct economic activities in Poland." [sentence as published]

According to Miroslaw Pietrewicz, chief of the Central Planning Administration, "the beneficial symptoms of a certain economic dynamism reported in the year's first quarter continue to be very weak. So one must approach them with great caution and concern. So one cannot talk about the economy in overly optimistic terms on the basis of these symptoms alone. Securing healthy demand and supply would be a condition for permanent growth. What is also necessary is the development of modern production processes because, in the final analysis, this would mean a chance to reduce the unemployment level and increase real earnings."

Tomasz Nalecz, a Sejm deputy for the Union of Labor, said that "the symptoms of a revival are so slight that it would be hard to speak of a growth trend in the economy. I would like it very much to really be the first sign of an economic revival. Right now, I think it would be disastrous if this were to be affected by the political conflict the country is witnessing, courtesy of the coalition and Lech Walesa. I think the conflict is gradually beginning to paralyze state structures, and this kind of situation surely does not help the Polish economy."

Voivodship 'Investment Risk' Map Listing

94P20635A

[Editorial Report] GAZETA PRZEMYSLOWA I HANDLOWA, a Warsaw-based "weekly for entrepreneurs and employers," published a lengthy article in its 15-21 March edition, detailing the contents of a report by the Gdansk Research Institute on Market Economy (IBnGR) that provides a "map" of investment risks in Poland, intended for both Polish and foreign investors. The report provides a ranking of voivodships in terms of investment risks, with Class A status referring to voivodships that offer the greatest attractiveness to investors, Class B to high attractiveness, Class C to average attractiveness, Class D to low attractiveness, and Class E to very low attractiveness. These categorizations were based on local market potential, labor market, industrial base, business-friendly environment, environmental quality, tourist potential, and commercial and transportation infrastructure.

According to the article, research results "clearly show a division into Poland A and Poland B," with voivodships in eastern Poland and in urban areas in central Poland generally proving to have "the least attractive investment climate." The Suwalki, Lomza, and Elblag voivodships in northern Poland were found to have the least environmental degradation, while the worst environmental quality was found in the heavily industrialized areas of both Upper and Lower Silesia as well as in other centers where heavy industry is concentrated.

The report traced the wide disparities in infrastructure and environmental quality to the uneven regional development policies of the communist era. "For many years, regional authorities were incapacitated," stated the report, and financial resources reached the regions only through the central budget, with priorities often dictated by political reasons instead of by economic requirements. The result has been "huge disproportions in Poland's regional development."

The areas showing the least investment risk, those with Class A status, are the capital city voivodship of Warsaw, followed by Katowice, Gdansk, and Poznan. These are cities with a "certain renown, a large industrial base, and a marked diversity of market potential." These voivodships are generally known outside of Poland and possess a certain "magnetism" in terms of attracting investments, demonstrated by the fact that most of the joint-venture companies currently operating in Poland are located in them.

According to the report, chances for developing "weaker regions" of Poland rest to a large degree with the regional authorities, which are "responsible for creating conditions conducive to investment." In addition, border regions may benefit from the increased opening up of the borders. Highway construction and privatization should also contribute to the promotion and development of certain regions. The IBnGR researchers also note that the flow of investments can also contribute to eliminating the differences in development between regions.

In addition to the Class A voivodships listed above, the remaining Class B through Class E voivodships are given below, in order of investment risk:

Class B—Wroclaw, Krakow, Szczecin, Lodz.

Class C—Bydgoszcz, Olsztyn, Koszalin, Bielsko-Biala, Slupsk, Leszno, Lublin.

Class D—Rzeszow, Opole, Elblag, Walbrzych, Kalisz, Bialystok, Kielce, Gorzow, Zielona Gora, Suwalki, Torun, Legnica, Jelenia Gora, Lomza, Konin, Krosno, Nowy Sacz, Plock, Czestochowa, Ciechanow, Siedlce, Chelm, Tarnobrzeg, Skierniewice.

Class E—Radom, Piotrkow, Biala Podlaska, Zamosc, Sieradz, Przemysl, Tarnow, Ostroleka, Wloclawek.

Cease-Fire Agreement Reached in Gorazde

LD2004003894 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0020 GMT 20 Apr 94

[Text] Sarajevo, April 19 (TANJUG) - Representatives of the Bosnian Serb Republic and the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) reached a temporary agreement on Gorazde in Pale late on Tuesday [19 April] evening, the Bosnian Serb news agency SRNA reported. "The memorandum on temporary arrangements for Gorazde" calls for an end to combat actions around the town and the deployment of two UNPROFOR platoons with around 100 men. "Serbs agree that they immediately cease all combat activities in an area 3 km from central Gorazde on the left bank of the Drina, unless they are attacked," said the memorandum which was signed by Bosnian Serb Assembly President Momcilo Krajisnik and UNPROFOR Civil administration Head Victor Andreyev.

Serbs Declare Peace 'Unilaterally'

LD2004115094 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1125 GMT 20 Apr 94

[Text] Belgrade, 20 Apr (TANJUG)—The office of Radovan Karadzic, president of the republic of Srpska, announced today that "the Serbian side has declared peace in Gorazde unilaterally, thus ending the crisis surrounding this town," SRNA has reported. "Under an agreement between the republic of Srpska authorities and the UN Protection Forces [UNPROFOR], a ceasefire on the Gorazde front comes into force immediately and UN troops will be able to enter Gorazde today. This will help the international humanitarian organizations to resume their work in the town," the statement says.

It is noted in the statement that the Serbian side's unilateral move is a republic of Srpska response to yesterday's declaration by Russian President Boris Yeltsin and the position of U.S. President Bill Clinton on the crisis in Gorazde. "We appeal to the international community to put pressure on the Muslim side to make possible a resumption of the peace negotiations," the statement says, adding that the time has come for the Muslims to state clearly if they favor war or peace.

"The Muslim strategy of maintaining a state of neither war nor peace is a crime," the statement stresses and reminds the international community that the Serbs did not start the conflict in Gorazde, that they want a just agreement, but will not allow themselves to be dictated to.

UN Deployment Authorized

AU2004070794 Paris AFP in English 0102 GMT 20 Apr 94

[Text] Sarajevo, April 20 (AFP)—Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic early Wednesday [20 April] authorised the deployment of 100 UN troops in the beleagured Moslem enclave of Gorazde, Bosnian Serb radio said. The UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR) "can from Wednesday morning deploy 100 soldiers in the part of the town situated on the left bank of the Drina" river, Karadzic announced. The authorisation came as part of a third ceasefire the Serb leader has negotiated with UN representatives in as many days.

The details of the agreement remain to be discussed with the United Nations special envoy to the former Yugoslavia Yasushi Akashi, the radio quoted him as saying. Akashi has come under criticism from Bosnian Moslems after holding fruitless talks with Karadzic Sunday as Serb tanks poured into Gorazde, giving the Serbs virtual control of the town.

Karadzic said Wednesday that UN soldiers would be allowed to "protect the civilian population but not the Bosnian Army," Serb radio reported. "The aim of the Serb counter-offensive is not to take the town but only the right bank of the Drina which belongs to the Serbs," the Serb leader added. But relations between the Serbs and the military wing of the UN mission in Bosnia would remain suspended "because of the active role it is playing in the civil war." Reponsibility for the fighting around Gorazde rests with the United Nations, as "it has not disarmed the Moslem (Bosnian) army in a region that was supposed to be demilitarised," Karadzic argued.

The radio made no mention of the release by Bosnian Serb forces Tuesday of six out of eight teams of UN military observers that they had detained last week in retaliation for NATO airstrikes around Gorazde. The teams, comprising three to five people, were reported by the UN Tuesday to have been been freed.

Rose Applauds Cease-Fire

AU2004092694 Paris AFP in English 0902 GMT 20 Apr 94

[Excerpts] Sarajevo, April 20 (AFP) - Bosnian Serb shells pounded Wednesday [20 April] into the besieged Moslem enclave of Gorazde, killing four people and wounding seven, according to a local official, reached by radio. [passage omitted]

The commander of UN forces in Bosnia, Lieutenant-General Sir Michael Rose, had welcomed Karadzic's announcement on allowing UNPROFOR troops into Gorazde.

"It is important because it does bring about a cease-fire. It does allow us to run these humanitarian and UNPROFOR convoys," Rose said in an interview with the BBC. "It is the first step." Any cease-fire, he said, was temporary, but he hoped the current move would turn into a permanent cessation of hostilities, but this depended on the willingness of the two parties not to resume their conflict.

In Geneva, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) said UNHCR representatives reported an easing of the Serb assault on the town.

"The last message we've got said that the shelling had died down considerably," UNHCR spokesman Ron Redmond said after contacting staff in Gorazde at 7:00 AM (0500 GMT). [passage omitted]

Rose said Wednesday, meanwhile, that the exclusion zone for heavy weapons around Sarajevo could well be replicated elsewhere in the safe areas. Some 12,000 people are now without shelter in Gorazde and the corridors of apartment blocks are full of people. [passage omitted]

UN Spokesman: Shelling Continues

AU2004122194 Paris AFP in English 1205 GMT 20 Apr 94

[Excerpts] Sarajevo, April 20 (AFP)—Bosnian Serb forces Wednesday [20 April] shelled the besieged Moslem enclave of Gorazde, killing more people, despite a "unilateral peace" announcement and an undertaking by their political leadership to let UN peacekeepers into the city. [passage omitted] Meanwhile Pope John Paul II appealed to all sides to respect the ceasefire and resume peace talks. He deplored that the "assault on the martyred city could go on... despite the truce promised by the besieging forces."

A statement from Karadzic's office said the Bosnian Serbs had Wednesday "unilaterally proclaimed peace at Gorazde, which ends the crisis around the town," the Bosnian Serb news agency SRNA reported. This "act" was in response to statements Tuesday from the Russian and U.S. presidents, Boris Yeltsin and Bill Clinton, the statement added. [passage omitted]

An UNPROFOR official here said Wednesday that under the truce agreement, signed with the UN late Tuesday night in nearby Pale, the Serb side agreed to stop firing "immediately" as long as they were not attacked. However shelling continued early Wednesday although with less intensity, UNPROFOR spokesman Major Rob Annink said. Several shells hit a building housing UN military observers but left no casualties, and it was dangerous to move around the town, he added. Meanwhile refugees continued to flood in, he said. Serb forces appeared to be trying to block the road leading west out of the town, on the left bank, he added.

Under the temporary ceasefire, the Serbs had agreed to cease military activities over a three-kilometer (two-mile) stretch of land, starting from central Gorazde and running to the left bank of the Drina, which divides the town. UNPROFOR and other humanitarian groups could help civilians, and organize medical evacuations and prisoner exchanges in that area. [passage omitted] In Geneva, a spokesman for the UN High Commission for Refugees quoted their doctor in charge of medical evacuations, Gordona Stjepanovic, as saying "the situation is worse in Gorazde than it was in the worst moments in Sarajevo." Spokesman Ron Redmond said there was "nothing to eat" and people "risk their lives" trying to get water. On Tuesday, 43 people were killed, including six children, and 112 people were wounded, bringing the total since the Serb offensive began March 28 to 345 dead and 1,187 wounded, UNHCR said.

Serbs 'Massing' for Attacks

AU2004110994 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 20 Apr 94

[Report by Mustafa Kurtovic]

[Excerpt] The situation in Gorazde is becoming ever more dramatic and the [Serbian] fascists are again massing along all the lines of attack on the town. The greatest concentration of chetniks and the largest amount of military hardware have been registered in the valley of the Praca River from the direction of Necici toward Jabucko Sedlo and Sjenokos. The situation in the town (?center) is taking on the bloodiest proportions. The innocent civilian population has been suffering from being out in the open. A wide-scale epidemic is threatening, so Gorazde is again sending an appeal for help for the suffering. The situation in the war hospital, the health center is worse than sad. No words can describe the situation there. Dozens of civilian victims killed by the criminals from the hills are lying in the streets of the town and on the bridges over the Drina. It was impossible to help them at all, as the chetniks blanketed every inch of the free Gorazde territory, and particularly the town center, with fierce artillery and sniper fire from the surrounding hills. [passage omitted]

Heavy Serbian Shelling Reported

AU2004093294

[Editorial Report] Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian at 080 GMT on 20 April within its regular 7-minute newscast carries several reports on the situation in the republic.

In a report from Gorazde "that has just been received," Esad (Ovranovic), chairman of the Regional Executive Committee, says that "the town is being extremely heavily shelled this morning as well. All the defense lines are also being attacked. In the last 24 hours, 44 people have been killed, and (?134) have been seriously wounded in Gorazde. Therefore, 389 people have been killed and 1,324 wounded since the beginning of the offensive. The situation is extremely difficult. There is no [word indistinct]. There are many wounded people, and the hospital is in a terrible state. I really do not know how to find a way out of all this."

Hamiz Deronjic reports that "the free Brcko territory has been exposed to one of the fiercest offensives so far by the Serbian aggressor. Along with constant shelling of the defense lines and civilian targets, the aggressor is trying to break through to the free Brcko territory from several directions." "The Serbian aggressor, who has been successfully repelled along all the lines of the Brcko defenses over the past 10 days, is not giving up the attacks. This is shown by the new reinforcements that the aggressor has brought in heavy transport vehicles to Potocari and Cadjevac. Strong regrouping of chetnik men and hardware is being done [word indistinct] the positions of the 108th Motorized Brigade and the 108th Infantry Brigade at Vranovaca and [name indistinct]."

Mirza Sadikovic reports that "there has been no peace in the Bihac region overnight and so far this morning. Karadzic's terrorists have continued shelling and attacking the positions of the defenders of the 505th Chivalrous Motorized Brigade and the general region of [name indistinct] from their strongholds in (Torbula), Stanac, Veliki Radic, and [name indistinct]. Operations on those regions from [word indistinct] regions of the Republic of Croatia, that is, the so-called Serbian autonomous region of Krajina, which are [word indistinct] controlled."

In a largely indistinct report, a correspondent whose name is indistinct says that "Olovo continues to be target of the aggressor's attacks. During the night, the aggressor's long-range artillery began its bestial orgy."

TANJUG: Muslims Firing on Serbs

LD2004083594 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0803 GMT 20 Apr 94

[Text] Cajnice, 20 Apr (TANJUG)—Following strong Muslim attacks yesterday, fighting on the Gorazde front resumed this morning with extreme ferocity along the entire line of confrontation, the Herzegovina corps command has announced. Muslims have so far failed to observe any of the existing cease- fire agreements, the Herzegovina corps command said, adding that Muslims will probably try to take advantage of the deployment of the UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] in the area of Gorazde to provoke the Serbs and to accuse them of attacking the force of the international community. The most intense fire is coming from the center of the town. Muslims are using mortars, anti-aircraft weapons, and snipers, the Herzegovina corps command insists.

Despite orders from its high command, the Serbian side has been forced to respond to the Muslim attacks. The Herzegovina corps command insists that there is no truth in the Muslim claims that Serbian fighters have been pounding the Gorazde urban area with artillery weapons. Late yesterday afternoon, NATO planes overflew Serbian positions on the Gorazde front but at permitted altitude and did not engage in any combat activity.

UNHCR: Evacuations Impossible

LD2004130894 Paris Radio France International in French 1100 GMT 20 Apr 94

[Report by Marie-France Chatain]

[Excerpt] In Bosnia, the agony of Gorazde is continuing. It is difficult to obrtain precise information. According to the UNHCR, bombing has decreased drastically this morning. On the other hand, Bosnian radio in Sarajevo says that the situation is getting worse in the Muslim enclave and adds that Serb gunners are still shooting at civilian targets.

In any case, for the thousands Muslim refugees holed up in the city, the situation is tragic to say the least. Forty-three people, including six children, were killed in yesterday's bombing. The besieged lack everything—food and water—and thousands of people are homeless. Here is Christiane Berthiaume, the UNHCR spokesperson. Christiane Berthiaume has managed to get precise information on the situation in Gorazde:

[Berthiaume] People are roaming in the streets, people are sleeping on the streets because there isn't anywhere to house them. There are 30,000 refugees, 30,000 displaced people, who have fled from the villages around Gorazde which have fallen or which have been burned down and have come to find refuge in the city. However, even before the fighting started, 60 percent of the buildings had been destroyed or damaged. There is nowhere to put them up. Each square meter is occupied by a displaced person.

[Chatain] What are you intending to do now that things have become worse in Gorazde? Are you intending to repatriate your UNHCR representatives?

[Berthiaume] It is impossible to evacuate anyone from Gorazde at the moment. For several days now, we have been trying to evacuate at least 200 people who are lying seriously wounded in the hospital of Gorazde, and we cannot do it. If the wounded cannot leave, the personnel of the UNHCR, of Medecins Sans Frontiers, and of the Red Cross cannot leave either. The bombing is far too heavy, far too serious. It is hell there. [passage omitted]

UNHCR Reports Casualties

LD2004111994 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 20 Apr 94

[Text] Forty-three people, including 6 children, were killed and 112 were wounded in Gorazde yesterday, UNHCR spokesman Peter Kessler said on Wednesday [20 April]. A UNHCR building in Gorazde was hit twice at about 1800 yesterday evening, but there were no casualties among the staff, Kessler said, quoting reports by UNHCR personnel on the ground. The shelling of Gorazde continued on Wednesday morning, but less intensely, Ron Redman, UNHCR spokesman in Geneva, said after talking to Gorazde ham operators at 0700 this morning.

Continued Serbian Offensive Reported 19 Apr

'Street Fighting' Reported

LD1904213794 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in English 2103 GMT 19 Apr 94

[Text] Chaos and street fighting are raging in Gorazde. That was reported this afternoon by local official Esad Obranovic, speaking for Radio Sarajevo via ham radio operators. Obranovic said the Gorazde hospital, some 200 meters from the scene of bitter conflicts on the right bank of the River Drina, was crammed with the wounded and people were still seeking shelter in its corridors. Meanwhile, house-to-house fighting was reported in the suburbs of Gorazde. The Bosnian prime

minister Haris Silajdzic said the Serb forces had hit an ammonia storage facility and were continuing to open fire on the town.

Situation 'Deteriorating'

LD1904205594 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 19 Apr 94

[Excerpts] [Announcer] A radio link-up with Gorazde was again established this evening. The person who spoke with domestic and foreign journalists was Esad Ohranovic, chairman of the executive committee of the Gorazde district. Edib Music reports on the link-up:

[Music] Judging by information that we received from Mr. Ohranovic this evening, the situation in Gorazde is further deteriorating. Let us hear what was happening around 2030 this evening, and also earlier in the day:

[Begin Ohranovic recording] At this moment the Hotel Gradina and the neighboring building are ablaze. On the right side apartment blocks called [word indistinct] and Panorama are also on fire. Everything is enveloped in smoke. Earlier today, six people were wounded in a building housing a Red Cross refugee center. The chetniks are no longer attacking front lines. They simply wish to kill as many civilians as possible by shelling residential areas. Between 0800 and 2000 today, 26 people were killed and 62 were wounded. It is difficult to bury the dead as there is intense sniper fire over the cemetery.

A great problem is drinking water, as there are no springs that we have access to. Poisonous gases were also released today. The people affected are feeling dizzy and faint. The situation along the defense lines is extremely difficult, but we must persevere. At this moment both the right and the left sides are coming under intensive fire; I can no longer say from which weapons. [passage omitted] In every case, the biggest problem is the population without any accommodation who are sheltering in entrances, in porches. This is the biggest problem at the moment. We really do not have the facilities to accommodate at least 10,000 people. This evening the hospital again came under fire, and two people were wounded. Poisonous gases were thrown directly on the hospital. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Serbs Prevent TV Filming

LD1904192794 Paris France-2 Television Network in French 1800 GMT 19 Apr 94

[Excerpts] [Announcer Paul Amar] Let's return to the deterioration of the situation in Gorazde in Bosnia, because we now have live with us from Geneva Mrs Berthiaume. Good evening. You are the spokesperson of the UNHCR in Geneva, so you have information from Gorazde that we may not have. Can you tell me this information about what is happening in that town, that has been surrounded by the Serbs.

[Berthiaume] The latest information we received goes back to about 1800. Two shells had struck the building where the employees of the UNHCR are based—not only them, but also the forces of the UN military observers, as well as a large number of refugees. There are dozens and dozens of refugees in the building, displaced persons, who, I suppose, felt safer in our building, and unfortunately we have had no news of these people since then. [passage omitted]

[Amar] Thank you, Christiane Berthiaume, for telling us what is happening in Gorazde. Unfortunately we don't have any pictures, simply because the Serbs are preventing international television teams from filming. No pictures, but we can still give the news.

Serbs Shell UN Workers

AU1904165794 Paris AFP in English 1643 GMT 19 Apr 94

[Text] Geneva, April 19 (AFP)—Bosnian Serb artillery units pounding Gorazde scored two directs hits Tuesday afternoon [19 April] on the building sheltering four UNHCR aid workers and five UN Protection Force observers, the UNHCR said here. The UN High Commissioner for Refugees here said the shells struck at around 5:50 p.m. (1550 GMT), when communications with the agency's team in the Bosnian enclave were cut off after a radio message confirming the two hits.

Muslim Attacks Reported

LD1904193794 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1848 GMT 19 Apr 94

[Text] Cajnice, 19 April (TANJUG)—Positions of the army of the republic of Srpska on the left bank of the Drina river have since early this morning been exposed to fierce artillery fire coming from Muslim forces in the center of Gorazde, the command of the Herzegovina corps announced this evening. The attacks intensified after NATO aircraft had begun overflying Serb positions between Gorazde and Cajnice this afternoon. This encouraged Muslim forces to attempt to carry out infantry onslaughts in several places along the separation line.

The command of the Herzegovina corps said that for their attacks, Muslim forces have been using facilities in which representatives of international humanitarian organizations and the UN are accommodated. Fire from anti-aircraft guns and machine-guns has been opened from the hospital building, schools, and other institutions.

The command of the Herzegovina corps today resolutely denied reports broadcast by Sarajevo media that the Serb army used chemical weapons, stressing that this has been done by Muslim forces which have a factory for the production of the banned chemicals in Gorazde. Despite the fierce attacks, the Serb forces today managed to preserve their front lines, the command said.

Silajdzic Urges NATO Action

AU1904194894 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 19 Apr 94

[Text] The Bosnia-Herzegovina Government met this afternoon to discuss the current situation in Gorazde. At

the beginning of the open part of the session, Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic read the following statement:

[Begin Silajdzic recording] The aggression against Bosnia-Herzegovina has been underway for more than two years already and has culminated in a fresh invasion by the aggressor's forces from Serbia and Montenegro. With the knowledge of the entire world, the aggressor is bringing new troops, tanks, and artillery from Titovo Uzice, Kraljevo in Serbia, and Podgorica in Montenegro. The residents of Gorazde, surrounded and cut off, have been destroyed with everything that the aggressor has at his disposal for two years, including irritant agents that are being used in concentrations prohibited by the Geneva convention. Every square meter is shelled and the hospital is almost destroyed. Gorazde is defending itself the way it can and is trying to stop the aggressor's forces from entering the town, and naturally, to prevent a massacre [words indistinct].

We would like to remind that this is a UN Protected Area. The UN (?leaders) failed to undertake the measures to which they are entitled by the relevant resolutions of the UN Security Council. We have learned that UN Secretary General Butrus-Ghali sent a letter to NATO Secretary General Woerner in connection with these events. However, for the time being there is still no action. The aggressor is encouraged by such a position of the United Nations.

The aggressor's soldiers today used force to seize the arms that were in Lukavica guarded by the members of the French Battalion on the basis of a NATO ultimatum of 9 February 1994. This action constitutes a flagrant violation of the NATO ultimatum and paves the way for a new aggression on Sarajevo and other towns throughout Bosnia-Herzegovina. Parallel to this, the aggressor's forces have been holding approximately 100 UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] soldiers hostage.

This is not merely a question of United Nations and NATO credibility, but also a question of peace or war in this [word indistinct].

The international community is responsible for this [word indistinct] because it has facilitated the aggression and made it easy by keeping in power the arms embargo that is only effecting the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, which is a victim of the aggression.

We informed NATO Secretary General Woerner about the development of the situation and demanded urgent action in accordance with the NATO ultimatum. [end recording]

The government's session at the beginning of which Prime Minister Silajdzic read the statement that you have just heard, was continued without the presence of reporters.

Karadzic Criticizes Butrus-Ghali Letter

LD1904161094 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1509 GMT 19 Apr 94

[Text] Sarajevo, 19 Apr (TANJUG)—Radovan Karadzic, president of the republic of Srspka, said today that Butrus-Ghali's letter to NATO would not help the peace process. The letter unfortunately vindicates our decision to reexamine our relations with the UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR], Karadzic said at a news conference in Pale, adding that the Serbian soldiers need to know clearly whether UNPROFOR is an enemy or not.

"We most seriously suggest to the United Nations that it make the security zones as secure as possible, demilitarize them, and prevent the Muslims from attacking Serbian positions from the protected zones. But, if they want to wage a war we will defend ourselves in every possible way," Karadzic said.

Asked what he expects from Russia, Karadzic said he still does not know whether Butrus-Ghali's letter will go through the UN Security Council at all or not, nor what decision will be passed. "In any case we rely on our own resources and we are ready and convinced that we can defend ourselves," Karadzic stressed.

Most questions related to the situation in and around Gorazde.

Karadzic repeated several times that the Serbian forces will not occupy the town center of Gorazde. "We could have done it, but we want to make Gorazde a protected zone. This means that it has to be demilitarized and that peacekeeping forces should be deployed—in order to separate the forces—in a 3-km zone on the left bank, which is the Muslim part," the RS president said, adding that this could be implemented, as far as the Serbs are concerned, as early as today.

"The left bank [of the Drina] is much more peaceful than Muslim radio and their radio hams are reporting. They are dramatizing the situation with the intention of provoking a reaction by the international community, while at the same time Muslim forces are attacking us on the right bank, launching infantry attacks using boats," Karadzic said, adding that he is receiving reports on the situation in Gorazde every hour. The Muslims, however, do not want to stop firing, Karadzic added. He said that he hopes that the Serbs will this evening establish a cease-fire and that the Muslims will have to accept this. He rejected accusations that the Serbs are to blame for the "catastrophic humanitarian situation in Gorazde and the attacks on civilian targets."

Representatives of international organizations in Gorazde are misinforming the public under pressure from the Muslim forces, the RS president said, and pointed out that the state leadership of the RS is maintaining contacts with Yasushi Akashi and the political sector of UNPROFOR.

"We only want to protect ourselves against Muslim attacks from the protected zones, and if the United Nations does not want to do this, we will make Gorazde into a safe zone," Karadzic said.

Commenting on a statement made yesterday by Alija Izetbegovic that the Muslims would go for "everything

or nothing," because the Serbs had gone for everything or nothing and that they would "gain nothing", Karadzic said:

"The Serbs most definitely did not go for nothing, but did not go for everything either. We went for what is ours, to defend our interests. If the Muslims decide to go for everything or nothing, the international community must adopt an attitude toward that."

Dwelling on a remark made by special Russian envoy Vitaliy Churkin, Karadzic said that Churkin is a very good diplomat. "We have recently been under the same pressure and I think that this remark came as a result of an emotional reaction. I think we can forget that," Karadzic said.

Karadzic To 'Respond With Every Means' to NATO

BR2004124094 Milan L'INDIPENDENTE in Italian 20 Apr 94 p 12

[Interview with Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic by Fausto Biloslavo in Pale; date not given: "Karadzic: 'It Will Be Total War'"]

[Excerpt] Pale—[passage omitted] Karadzic—in a blue suit and sporting an unruly forelock—started by saying: "The Gorazde crisis? UNPROFOR (the blue helmet contingent in the former Yugoslavia—L'INDIPENDENTE editor's note) is entirely to blame, because Gorazde was not a safe area, but a Muslim stronghold which was never demilitarized. In addition, it was precisely from Gorazde that the Muslims launched a spring offensive, and we are absolutely determined to deal a blow for a blow, throughout Bosnia, in response to their attacks. The international community must cease supporting the Muslims."

[Biloslavo] Will you conquer Gorazde?

[Karadzic] We could do so, but our objective is simply to demilitarize the town and secure it by defending the area on the Drina river's right bank, which is traditionally a Serbian area. As a gesture of goodwill, we have allowed the United Nations to send about 100 blue helmets (Ukrainian volunteers—L'INDIPENDENTE editor's note) to the river's left bank, three kilometers from the town center, in order to protect civilians only, not the Muslim soldiers.

[Biloslavo] The Serbs are being accused of shelling civilian targets, and General Rose, UN commander in Bosnia, has defined Gorazde a humanitarian catastrophe. What is your reply to this?

[Karadzic] You must not believe the Muslim sources, their amateur radio stations. They often exaggerate the situation in order to provoke Western intervention. We are trying to stabilize the cease-fire.

[Biloslavo] What do you think of [UN Secretary General] Butrus-Ghali requesting NATO to prepare for massive bombing raids on the Serbs?

[Karadzic] If this request were heeded, this could only mean war, and we will respond with every means at our disposal. NATO must be clear about this point, because our soldiers need to know whether or not the blue helmets are their enemies.

[Biloslavo] Are you prepared to retaliate against Italy too?

[Karadzic] The French, British, and Americans were once our allies, and we find it difficult to shoot on them. Italy was our enemy in the last war, but we always had a very good relationship with the Italian people. Italy would be well advised to cancel the hospitality that it is giving to NATO aircraft. If an escalation takes place, a terrible war will break out. For the time being, we have no intention of retaliating against your country, although we cannot rule out anything if the situation gets worse.

[Biloslavo] Why did you recover 18 anti-aircraft weapons which were supposed to remain under UN control in Sarajevo?

[Karadzic] The Serbs have no intention of passively awaiting possible air attacks.

[Biloslavo] It looks as though the Russians have also turned their backs on you. Is this true?

[Karadzic] Moscow envoy Churkin's critical remarks against us are due to the tension which has developed over the past few days. It was an emotional reaction, and we are prepared to forgive.

[Biloslavo] Will you resume contacts with the UNPROFOR forces?

[Karadzic] For the moment, contacts are suspended, and they can only be resumed if the United Nations decide to cancel the embargo against the Serbs.

[Biloslavo] What do you think of the recent statement by Bosnian President Izetbegovic, inviting Muslims to fight "in order to obtain everything or nothing"?

[Karadzic] We have gained our due. In one respect I agree with the Muslims: They will obtain nothing.

TANJUG: U.S. 'Spurred' on by Churkin Remarks

LD1904182694 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1811 GMT 19 Apr 94

[Text] Washington, April 19 (TANJUG)—U.S. President Bill Clinton and members of the National Security Council on Tuesday morning [19 April] began discussions on a future U.S. diplomatic and military platform for Bosnia-Herzegovina. As indicated by U.S. Administration officials, the basic U.S. idea is to try to persuade its allies and the United Nations to step up air attacks on Bosnian serb targets. Yesterday's verbal attack on the Bosnian Serb leadership by Vitaliy Churkin in Moscow has directly spurred and encouraged Clinton's advisors to opt for more severe punitive measures against the Bosnian Serbs, sources in Washington said.

Churkin's statement that Russia would not allow the Serbs to treat it as a 'banana republic' and that 'negotiations with the Serbs' should be suspended was received in the White House with relief because it was interpreted as a direct suggestion to the U.S. to adopt a radical platform which would not be countered by a Russian veto.

Commenting on Churkin's statement, Russian Ambassador to the United Nations Yuriy Vorontsov said that neither the Russian Government nor President Boris Yeltsin were behind it. U.S. papers write that Monday's request by U.N. Secretary-General Butros Butros-Ghali for new NATO actions against Bosnian Serbs had been inspired by U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations Madeleine Albright, who is also a member of the National Security Council. On Monday, she was briefly absent from a National Security Council session, which discussed proposals for Tuesday's meeting with Clinton, in order to telephone to Butros-Ghali and tell him that the White House was willing to launch more radical air strikes on the Bosnian Serbs.

Observers in Washington are not sure what kind of reception the new, more radical U.S. variant will get. It is believed that a difficult diplomatic manoeuvre will be needed to win over NATO allies for a wider-scale bombing. Indicating a tougher stand toward the Bosnian Serbs, U.S. papers and a part of political structures on Tuesday said that the White House was ready to exempt the Bosnian Moslems from the embargo on arms deliveries to all sides in former Yugoslavia. After an incredible pressure from the Congress and the radical wing in the White House on Monday, the issue was put on the agenda of Clinton's meeting with the National Security Council on Tuesday.

Buha on Churkin Statement

LD1904164394 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1608 GMT 19 Apr 94

[Text] Belgrade, April 19 (TANJUG)—Foreign minister of the Serb republic (S.R.) in the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina Aleksa Buha said on Tuesday [19 April] that Russian envoy Vitaliy Churkin's angry statement on Monday evening that talks with Serbs should be broken off had been made in the heat of the moment. Buha said in an interview to Obrenovac radio that 'Mr Churkin had a very ambitious plan to turn partial peace in Gorazde into a lasting ceasefire in the entire territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina, which would give sense to the former, but the Moslems rejected the global plan so that very little has remained of the partial plan.'

'Faced with the current situation, it is possible that Mr Churkin was afraid of possible further developments so that his statement that talks with Serbs should be discontinued was made in the heat of the moment,' said Buha. Over the weekend, Churkin and head of the U.N. mission in Former Yugoslavia Yasushi Akashi mediated talks on ending hostilities between the Bosnian Moslems and Serbs.

We agree with Churkin that his country, Russia, must act as a great country which it is, i.e. with responsibility, but we also believe that it should use the right words to address other problems elsewhere and that a small country like ours should not be the mirror of its greatness, he said. Reacting to Churkin's statement, Russia's ambassador to the United Nations Yuriy Vorontsov said that the Russian Government and President Boris Yeltsin did not stand behind it.

Buha denied that there were any significant disagreements between the S.R. political and military leaderships, adding that there were only some minor differences. Asked whether the return of Lord David Owen marked also a return to Geneva talks, Buha said that the peace talks should have stayed in Geneva.

Future Geneva talks must start from the fact that, after the creation of the Croat-Moslem federation in Bosnia, there are currently two entities in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Buha said and added that the talks should be held in two phases. In the first phase, the two states should be delineated while in the second agreement should be reached on possible future ties between the Moslem-Croat federation and the S.R., he said. Under U.S. pressure, the Moslems and Croats last March signed an agreement on forming a Moslem-Croat federation in Bosnia, which would subsequently form a confederation with Croatia.

The Serbs were not invited to the talks.

Silajdzic Demands Lifting of UN Arms Embargo

BR2004101294 Paris LE FIGARO in French 20 Apr 94 p 3

[Interview with Bosnian Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic by Xavier Gautier in Sarajevo; date not given: "The United Nations Is Not Protecting Anything, Not Even Sarajevo"]

[Text] *In Sarajevo, Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic is regarded by many Bosnians as the most capable, and certainly the most ambitious, politician. The message of this 47-year-old man, whose jaw is constantly clenched and who was "exiled" to Libya under Tito, to the UN Protection Forces (UNPROFOR) is virulent. But he refrained from demanding the blue helmets' withdrawal.*

[Gautier] What is the current situation in Gorazde?

[Silajdzic] The Serbs have attacked the city of Gorazde with 30,000 soldiers, supported by 19 tanks and more than 100 pieces of large-caliber artillery, which arrived from the barracks of Uzice and Kraljevo in Serbia, and from Podgorica in Montenegro. Trapped by the arms embargo, the Bosnians have no means to defend themselves. The international community has sentenced us to death. The Serbs intend to conquer the city and cleanse it of its population to complete their "Greater Serbia." They will now extend this strategy to the remaining parts of eastern Bosnia which still escape them.

[Gautier] Can the city hold out?

[Silajdzic] It is still defended and Gorazde will defend itself to its last bullet.

[Gautier] Are other "safe areas" threatened?

[Silajdzic] The United Nations is not protecting anything, not even Sarajevo. The Serbs are regaining their large-caliber weapons, which had been placed under the control of the blue helmets... The Serbs will first try to expand into the northeastern part of Bosnia. Then it will be the turn of the Bihac pocket, where the French blue helmets are currently deployed.

[Gautier] You attack the United Nations fiercely. Do you want the blue helmets to withdraw?

[Silajdzic] No. What we are demanding is arms, in other words the lifting of the embargo imposed on us by the United Nations. It is the United Nations itself which has placed us in this quagmire. It must extricate itself from it, together with us.

[Gautier] Bosnian Vice President Ejup Ganic has just made a lengthy visit to Washington. Has he received American assurances on the lifting of the arms embargo?

[Silajdzic] In principle, the United States refuses to back the UN blockade imposed on us. But we must be realistic: In Congress things are not really moving in our favor.

[Gautier] So Bosnia no longer has any allies?

[Silajdzic] French policy fortunately is changing in our favor. French planes took part in the air strikes against (the Serbian forces around) Gorazde in a support role. We are grateful to France for that.

[Gautier] What do you hope the French will do?

[Silajdzic] That they simply stand by their principles of justice and freedom.

[Gautier] Aside from words, what support have you obtained from Arab and Muslim countries?

[Silajdzic] What else could they do? Their hands are tied by the big powers.

[Gautier] Croatian President Franjo Tudjman, your ally, said recently that the main danger threatening Bosnia is Islamic fundamentalism. What do you think of that?

[Silajdzic] The danger which is indeed threatening this part of the world is that of fundamentalism, an ethnic or fascist fundamentalism. In our camp, I have never seen Muslims destroy a single church in Bosnia.

[Gautier] To give a few examples: Last summer, Muslim fundamentalists blew up a swimming pool and shot at swimmers in Zenica. Muslims also massacred Croatians in the village of Uzbol...

[Silajdzic] There have been incidents, it is true, but you must compare what can be compared. Help us combat this barbarism. Bosnia is a civilized country.

Rose Rejects UNPROFOR Role as Combatants

PM1904120294 London THE DAILY TELEGRAPH in English 19 Apr 94 p 10

[Report by Peter Almond: "We Came to Keep Peace, Not Fight a War, Says Rose"]

[Text] "You do not fight a war in white vehicles," said the UN Commander in Bosnia, Lt-Gen Sir Michael Rose, yesterday as he considered his possible responses to the situation in Gorazde. "I do not believe we are in the business of going to war in order to create conditions of peace. And I don't think either the world or the contributing nations would accept that."

With Gorazde "on the edge of a major humanitarian disaster", as he told BBC Radio 4, and with the Serbs pouring shells into the town at the rate of one every 20 seconds, Gen Rose has few options—short of "going to war"—to stop the Serbs doing what they want. The pressures on him are immense. Bringing to the job the authority and background to take a more robust approach to delivering aid he succeeded far beyond expectations, both in brokering a ceasefire between Croats and Muslims and in forcing the removal of Serb guns around Sarajevo. But the pressures that defeated his three predecessors were always present and are currently defeating him. White-painted vehicles cannot be used for combat.

His main problem has been to distinguish between the UN Security Council resolution that created a "safe area" around Gorazde and other enclaves and one that calls for the protection of UN personnel if they come under attack. He indicated yesterday he remains torn between the two. "I am responsible for the lives of 15,500 young men and women here who have been sent here as peacekeepers, not to fight a war," he said in Sarajevo. "My responsibility is to them as much as it is to the people of Bosnia-Herzegovina."

The threat of air strikes succeeded around the safe haven of Sarajevo, but Gorazde required close air support operations that were quite different. Instead of the precision strike aircraft that Nato had planned to use in operations against artillery and command bunkers around Sarajevo, Gen Rose could only call on available "cab rank" close air support aircraft to attack opportunity targets around Gorazde.

The Serbs had the advantage of time and place in their attacks: the Nato pilots were handicapped by bad weather, and by rules of engagement that require positive visual identification of specific tanks or guns threatening UN personnel directly.

American pressures to make no distinction between defending UN personnel and protecting safe areas—as stated by Mr Warren Christopher, Secretary of State, a week ago—appeared to confuse the UN. While officials at the NATO air headquarters in Italy pressed for a wide-scale bombing campaign to stop Serb tanks, Gen Rose was pressed by Mr Yasushi Akashi, the UN Secretary-General's special representative, to use close air

support strikes only when absolutely necessary. Mr Akashi won. Gen Rose was reminded that he is a UN officer on a peacemaking mission. The resulting close air support actions were too little and too late.

While properly prepared air strikes could still check the Serbs, largely with American aircraft, Gen Rose knows that the Bosnian Serbs still have more than 100 UN hostages, with opportunities for grabbing others, and that he has very little hope of getting more troops to reinforce his peacemaking efforts.

Yesterday, he could only hope that the Serbs will be merciful in their victory at Gorazde. "I very much hope the situation will slowly return to normality, that we can prevent a humanitarian disaster around Gorazde and we can then go back to what we're supposed to be doing here and that is helping to return this country to peace and normality," he said.

Deflated and without his usual bounce, Gen Rose sounded bitter at the duplicity and treachery of the Bosnian Serb leadership. "It is a very sad day for the world when peace-keeping is used as a cover for the prosecution of war aims in such a blatant fashion. The assurances that were given repeatedly during the peace talks over the last week to people like Mr Akashi, and indeed to Mr Churkin (the Russian envoy) have been totally ignored.

"We now arrive at a very very sad situation indeed. However, you do have to put that against our overall mandate here in Bosnia-Herzegovina, which is obviously a force for peace. And if you look at what has been achieved in central Bosnia and in and around Sarajevo you will find that life is slowly returning to normal."

His options to help Gorazde now are limited to trying to get medical help to the town. But even in that Gen Rose said he depended on the agreement of the Serbs to let casualty evacuation convoys in. The Serbs, he said, did not advise it "for the moment," and he admitted it may be another day or two before they do.

Sarajevo Serbs Returning Seized Weapons

LD1904194694 Paris Radio France International in French 1825 GMT 19 Apr 94

[Telephone interview with French Colonel Pernod, commander of troops in the UN Sarajevo sector, by unidentified radio announcer—live]

[Excerpts] [Announcer] Commander of the Sarajevo sector, Colonel Pernod, good evening. Can you hear me?

[Pernod] Good evening, I can hear you. [passage omitted] There have been developments. Since 2000 this evening the weapons have started to be brought in, that is, we have been putting them under our control. Four have already arrived, the others are following. According to Major (Endic), the situation should be back to normal tomorrow, to what it was before the UN air strikes. This is of course [word indistinct] but we will see how things turn out tomorrow.

[Announcer] Colonel, what pressure is being put on the Serbs to return these weapons?

[Pernod] Well, we have continued the negotiations all afternoon. I assume that these negotiations are in conjunction with other negotiations of which, evidently, I am not aware. These negotiations are undoubtedly being conducted at a higher international level. I refer to Mr. Butrus Butrus-Ghali and Mr. Yakushi Akashi and at the level of governments. As far as we are concerned, we have negotiated all afternoon and the pressure has drastically decreased. Tomorrow in theory, we expect to have the freedom of movement we enjoyed before last week's air strikes.

[Announcer] Thank you, Colonel.

Serbs Report Fighting Along Northern Corridor

AU1904145594 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 19 Apr 94

[Report by Zoran Grgurevic from Doboj]

[Text] After yesterday and last night, which were marked by constant shelling of civilian targets in Doboj and Teslic, and during which three civilians were wounded, the shelling continued today.

A general danger alarm has been in force in Doboj and Teslic since 0710. The residents are in shelters. A warning was also sounded at 0900. Doboj, Teslic, and all suburbs are being targeted with mortars and tanks as we report. The shells are hitting Teslic from the direction of Tesanj, and in Doboj from the direction of Matuzici and Gracanica. According to the available data, members of the 110th brigade of the Croatian Defense Council, who have been under the Muslim command of the 7-South Operative Group since the beginning of the war, have joined in the artillery attacks on civilian targets.

As we have learned from the military sources of the 1st Krajina Corps, which was also confirmed in the press center, members of UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] on the Zepce-Maglaj front have publicly taken sides with the Muslims. Members of a special British company installed, between Maglaj and Zepce, four radar stations for detecting Serbian artillery. The data is then given to the Muslim units. After the blockade of Maglaj and Tesanj was lifted, the so-called peacemakers brought to the Muslim forces in this region a significant amount of arms and ammunition, which are mercilessly used against civilian targets. Members of UNPROFOR have openly taken sides with the Muslims and are engaging in small arms fire from their personnel carriers on the Serb positions and settlements on Mount Ozren, Parnica, Bijela Ploca, and Jablanica, together with the Muslim units.

The units of the army of the republic of Srpska have not yet responded to these obvious provocations because it is clear to everyone that an attempt is being made to provoke the Serbs and possibly transfer NATO actions to these parts of the republic of Srpska.

TANJUG: Muslims Attack Doboj

LD2004105694 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1030 GMT 20 Apr 94

["Pool" item]

[Text] Doboj, April 20 (TANJUG)—In Bosnia-Herzegovina, Moslem units continued Wednesday [20 April] attacks on Serb positions and settlements in the broader area of Doboj, northern Bosnia, said Bosnian Serb Republic (R.S.) military sources. The sources said Moslems fired 82 mm and 120 mm mortar shells, infantry arms and rifle grenades on the Serb defense positions northeast of Doboj. After the Serb side's response, in which several trenches were destroyed, the Moslem activity ceased.

Serbs in Doboj have for days been exposed to strong mortar and artillery fire, but although the Serb side suffered many casualties, the world public, including UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force], did nothing to prevent the plight of the Serb civilian population. In the Teslic war zone, south of Doboj, the Moslem formations stepped up provocations, mostly using infantry and anti-aircraft weapons, and regrouped. The Serb forces did not respond to occasional provocations by the Moslem forces which used infantry arms in the Mt. Ozren war zone.

It was quiet in the night of Tuesday-Wednesday along the whole length of the confrontation line at Brcko, in the Sava river region, the Serb military sources set out. The same sources also said Serb reconnaissance parties observed the arrival of fresh Moslem forces. This was an indication that the Moslems did not abandon attempts to cut the R.S. in two at this point in the Sava river region. Minor provocations by the Croatian forces were recorded in some parts of the front near Orasje, in the Sava river region.

Attack Near Brcko Reported

LD1904192694 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1823 GMT 19 Apr 94

[Text] Banja Luka, 19 Apr (TANJUG)—Muslim and Croatian forces resumed attacks around 1600 today against the Serbian positions around Brcko, the information service of the republic of Srpska army's First Krajina Corps says in a statement issued in Banja Luka. The attack by the Muslim forces was launched this morning from the direction of Vranovaca hill, 8 kms south of Brcko, and the suburb of Boderiste, south of Brcko.

At the same time, Croatian Army forces, using the territory of the Republic of Croatia, together with the members of the Croatian Defense Council, fired 24 rockets from multiple rocket launchers and several artillery shells on the same Serbian positions. Two Serbian soldiers were seriously wounded in these attacks, and several residential buildings were damaged.

Today's attacks are a part of the intensified offensive activities by the Muslim and Croatian forces in Posavina and part of the big spring offensive by the so-called Bosnia-Herzegovina Army, which is frequently joined by Croatian Defense Council units. The attacks are aimed at cutting the road links between the two Serb krajinas and Semberija and Yugoslavia.

Serbian Attacks Reportedly Resisted

AU1904192994

[Editorial Report] Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian at 1700 GMT on 19 April reports, besides the Serbian attacks on Gorazde, on combat activities in other parts of the republic:

Correspondent from Brcko Hamiz Deronjic reports that "Dubrave, Jagodnjak, Tulumovici, Poljaci, Krajinovici, Vitanovici, Bajici, Djukici, Kladje, and the central part of Brcko's defense in Vranovaca and Boderiste have been the targets of chetnik artillery today. The most intense artillery attacks, merely a preparation for fresh infantry attacks on the defense lines, were aimed against Boderiste and Vranovaca. With the substantial support of tanks and artillery, chetniks in the region of Boderiste tried twice to break through defense lines, but were on both occasions forced to withdraw with losses in manpower. At approximately 1300 chetniks moved in for a fierce tank-infantry attack in the Vranovaca region, supported by artillery and self-propelled antiaircraft artillery. After major battles that lasted until 1420 the enemy was forced to retreat." Deronjic then reports that "a transport helicopter" arrived to "evacuate seriously injured enemy soldiers" after the battle. In conclusion, he also expresses the opinion that, in the shadow of the situation in Gorazde, "the chetniks are trying to quickly fix the problems on the battlefield that have caused them the biggest headaches."

Correspondent from Bihac Mirza Sadikovic reports that "Karadzic's fascists are today attacking Buzim and the nearby areas; they also continue to attack and attempt infantry breakthroughs on the defense lines in this region, the 5th Corps of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army's zone of responsibility."

Sadikovic further reports that "throughout the day Abdic's paramilitary formations have been shelling the border regions in the Cazin area at various intervals, provoking infantry clashes. The aggressor indiscriminately shelled other defense lines in the 5th Corps' zone of responsibility and the Headquarters of the Croatian Defense Council, especially in the Bosanska Krupa area of the battlefield, and opened fire with antiaircraft artillery and heavy machine guns."

A report from the Srebrenica Press Center claims that "the Serbian aggressor has been systematically exhausting Srebrenica. Beside exhaustion through starvation, he is also increasing provocations along the lines of encirclement and at the same time concentrating manpower and military hardware on the occupied territory of (Vlasenica), (Vratovac), and Srebrenica in the direct vicinity of the demilitarized zone. Recently the

aggressor has been carrying out [word indistinct] propaganda activity in Srebrenica and also stepped up surveillance of this [words indistinct]."

An announcer-read report on the situation in Sarajevo notes "increased concentration of manpower and arms around the town." It is reported that "four 105 mm howitzers, two antiaircraft guns, two self-propelled antiaircraft artillery pieces, and four 76 mm ZIS [expansion unknown] are positioned in the region of Pavovac; two ZIS are placed behind the Lukavica barracks. All the weapons are dug into the ground and turned [word indistinct] in the direction of Sokolovic Kolonija and Hrasnica. The enemy today continued with infantry arms provocations along defense lines and in the suburbs."

Muslim-Croat Skirmishes Reported in Gornji Vakuf

LD2004010794 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2241 GMT 19 Apr 94

[Text] Srbobran, April 19 (TANJUG)—The separation of Moslem and Croat forces in the area of Gornji Vakuf and the division of the territory of this town in central Bosnia-Herzegovina, which began on Tuesday [19 April], are accompanied by frequent incidents and exchange of fire between the two armies, Bosnian Serb military sources said.

Moslems will keep the name Gornji Vakuf for their part of the town, while the Croats will change the name to Uskoplje. Gornji Vakuf will be the third town that has been carved up by the Moslems and Croats. Mostar, the biggest town and the administrative seat of the region of Herzegovina in the southwest of the republic, and Vitez, in the central part, have already been divided. These towns were the sites of the heaviest one-year Moslem-Croat clashes in the central and southern parts of Bosnia-Herzegovina when they were fighting for territories.

The ceasefire agreement and division of territories followed the signing of an agreement on a Moslem-Croat federation in Washington on March 18 under strong U.S. pressure. The federation should eventually form a confederation with neighbouring Croatia.

Bosnian Serbs Release 21 Detained UN Personnel

AU1904195994 Paris AFP in English 1944 GMT 19 Apr 94

[Text] Sarajevo, April 19 (AFP)—Twenty-one UN personnel detained by Bosnian Serb forces were released Tuesday, a UN spokesman said. Five were UN military observers and the other 16 were peacekeeping troops from Canada, spokesman Eric Chaperon said.

Croats Release 153 Inmates From Heliodrom Camp

AU1904193094 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 19 Apr 94

[Reprot by Borka Rudic]

[Text] According to the information of the Center for Investigating War Crimes of the Prozor municipality, 153 prisoners have been released from the Heliodrom camp. Borka Rudic reports:

[Rudic] Of these, 33 arrived last night in the Jablanica municipality, where the War Presidency and other civilian organs of authority of the Prozor municipality have their provisional seats. The other prisoners left for the municipalities of Bugojno and Zenica, where their families are.

All inmates of the Heliodrom camp should be released today. According to what those who have already arrived in Jablanica said, there are another 70 Muslims from Prozor in this camp in Herzegovina. A further 25 of them are also expected to arrive in Jablanica. The others expressed the wish to go abroad.

The release of the prisoners from the Heliodrom camp is a result of the latest agreements between the Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Croatian sides that were recently reached in Medjugorje, and the endeavors to realize the Washington agreement in practice.

Dr. Slobodan Lang also made a major contribution to the successful release of the Muslims from this Herzegovina camp of the Croatian Defense Council [HVO]. Even after the release of these residents of Prozor, who were imprisoned nine months ago and placed first in a prison in Prozor and then in Heliodrom, according the local Center for Investigating War Crimes, the fate of 200 Muslims from Prozor is completely uncertain. Therefore, members of the civilian authority of that municipality are appealing to the International Red Cross and all other organizations to do whatever can be done to finally find out what has actually happened to these 200 civilians.

Serbs Allow Resumption of Medical Aid

LD1904134194 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1248 GMT 19 Apr 94

[Text] Belgrade, 19 Apr (TANJUG)—The cabinet of Nikola Koljevic, vice president of the republic of Sprska, today informed the aid organization Medecins Sans Frontieres (MSF) that the republic of Srpska authorities have authorized this organization, too, to carry on with its humanitarian convoy operations. It was announced yesterday that, under an agreement between the Serbian authorities and Yasushi Akashi, the UN secretary general's special envoy, the UNHCR, the International Committee of the Red Cross, and Handicap International can resume their humanitarian convoy operations. In the TANJUG report, Medecin Sans Frontieres was left out by mistake.

Interview With National Bank Governor

94BA0236A Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 19 Mar 94 p 14

[Article by Bruno Francheschi: "Governor of National Bank of Bosnia-Herzegovina Predicts: After War—Convertible Bosnian Dinar"]

[Text] Sarajevo—The governor of the National Bank of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Kasim Omicevic, expressed his hope that the recovery of the country's economy, with the help of the international community, will make it possible to create a strong and convertible dinar.

But for now the central bank is just a plan—the National Bank of Bosnia-Herzegovina lacks the means to influence the financial reality of the country. It has contented itself with printing up coupons for Sarajevo on poor-quality paper, the value of which, in theory, is equal to the Bosnian dinar. This new Bosnian dinar, printed in April 1992, shortly after Bosnia-Herzegovina gained independence, has never actually circulated in Sarajevo because of the siege by Bosnian Serb forces.

In an interview with a journalist from FRANCE PRESSE, Governor Omicevic says, "We have given a lot of thought to the banking system that we will establish after the war. It will be set up on criteria common to Western Europe and criteria recommended by the International Monetary Fund. Our banking system will follow the economy closely on the basis of the principles of free enterprise, while in reality we will continually save for democracy, because that was our basic motivation in signing the new federal constitution for Bosnia-Herzegovina."

Present-day reality is completely different, he admits: The black market is flourishing, and all transactions are conducted in German marks [DM]. "We cannot eliminate that type of market through an ordinary administrative decision. For now, the black market is the market," says Omicevic.

A strong and convertible dinar in a recovered economy will itself eliminate the black market and completely supplant the German mark as a means of payment, the governor contends.

In Sarajevo, everything is paid for in marks. One mark is worth 500,000 dinars in coupons, which is equivalent to the average monthly wage. A kilogram of meat costs DM90, and DM35 must be put down for the same quantity of potatoes. And that is the impossible dream for the approximately 350,000 inhabitants of Sarajevo.

Fed by free humanitarian aid packages that arrive in Sarajevo by airlift, residents mostly use their coupons to buy bread or the daily OSLOBODJENJE. Now they will be able to buy streetcar tickets for 30,000 dinars as well. International aid will be running dry before long, the governor emphasizes, but much remains to be done.

The government has estimated the cost of reconstruction at around $3 billion. The bank has a small quantity of foreign exchange, $50 million, while the country has $1.6 billion in reserves, deposited before the war at the central Yugoslav bank in Belgrade. In June 1991, the national debt was estimated as $1.5 billion.

Even if the governor is not deluding himself into thinking that it will be possible to collect all or even part of the foreign exchange reserves, he does believe that there will be new negotiations on settlement of the debt, and he is also counting on significant support from the international community. "We were supposed to pay off $250 million annually, which we have been unable to do because of the war," he explains.

Restoring the banking system also depends on the confidence of the populace. That is why the government is preparing a bill that would guarantee to depositors the return of deposits entrusted to banks before the war over a period of two years after the end of the fighting. In the meantime, banks could issue letters of credit to depositors, which would be used to engage in commercial transactions.

For now, all Sarajevo banks except the National Bank of Bosnia-Herzegovina are closed. Only the employees of that institution can be seen at its cash desks, because there are no depositors....

Granic, Silajdzic Coordinate Efforts on Gorazde

LD1904174694 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 19 Apr 94

[Text] Mate Granic, Croatian deputy prime minister and minister of foreign affairs, had a phone conversation with Bosnia-Herzegovina Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic today.

Granic and Silajdzic discussed the situation in Gorazde and the coordination of the activities of the two states in the international arena—particularly in the United Nations and the EU—and in political and humanitarian fields. They expressed pleasure with the results achieved so far in the implementation of the Washington agreement and agreed that both sides should persist with it so that the international community might halt the Serb aggression against Gorazde and so that conditions be created for the continuation of the initiated peace process.

Minister Granic informed Prime Minister Silajdzic that Slobodan Lang, Croatian ambassador at the Croatian Ministry of Foreign Affairs in charge of humanitarian affairs, is in Sarajevo to coordinate humanitarian activities. They also discussed preparations for the announced visit by Croatian President Franjo Tudjman to Sarajevo and agreed that the visit should go ahead as soon as security conditions allow.

Envoy to UN Warns of Dangers of Gorazde

LD1904173994 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 19 Apr 94

[Text] Mario Nobilo, Croatian ambassador to the United Nations, has sent a letter on the latest developments in Gorazde to the Security Council chairman, New Zealand Ambassador Colin Keating.

The Republic of Croatia is seriously concerned over the situation in Gorazde, where nobody is trying to prevent yet another slaughter by the Serbs, Nobilo says. He warns that direct violation of the UN resolution on safe zones is a dangerous precedent, which could affect the peace process not only in Bosnia-Herzegovina but also in Croatia.

The situation in Gorazde is already having a negative effect on the negotiations between the Croatian side and the Serb rebels. The rebel Serb authorities have refused to take part in the second round of talks, scheduled for last week. There is an increasing number of reports on provocations by Serb paramilitary formations, particularly in sectors west and south. The Serb rebels in Baranja have again taken up arms, thus violating the cease-fire agreement of 29 March, Nobilo says.

The Croatian ambassador also warns that, due to the situation in Gorazde, another wave of refugees could arrive in central Bosnia, which could damage the prospects for gradual implementation of the agreement on the Croat-Bosniak federation in Bosnia-Herzegovina, signed in Washington.

Nobilo notes that a refugee wave could spread into the Republic of Croatia, which is already providing accommodation for 280,000 refugees from Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The situation in Gorazde is a repetition of the tragedy of Vukovar, where the world merely watched as innocent people were victimized by a regime held in contempt.

The Serb aggression must finally be halted, Nobilo's letter says. The UN Security Council must be ready to impose peace. Lack of decisive action within the possibilities open to the Security Council would at the moment threaten not only the prospects for peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina, but also the territorial integrity and safety of the Republic of Croatia. My government, while continuing to support the peace process, retains the right to re-examine its position regarding the situation in the occupied territories in these dangerous, deteriorating circumstances, in accordance with Article 51 of the UN Charter, the letter says in conclusion.

SNS President Condemns NATO Action in B-H

AU1904170494 Split SLOBODNA DALMACIJA in Serbo-Croatian 14 Apr 94 p 7

[Report by S.P. Stazic on a news conference by Milan Djukic, president of the Serb National Party, in Zagreb on 13 April: "The NATO Attack Injured the Dignity of the Serbs!"]

[Text] Commenting on the air strikes against the Serb positions around Gorazde, Milan Djukic, president of the Serb National Party [SNS], stated on Wednesday at his party's news conference that "the Serb people, as any other people, have dignity, and there is a limit to how much injury to this dignity can be tolerated."

According to Djukic, "with the one-sided air strikes, without any warning," the NATO forces and the United Nations have "injured the dignity of the Serb people." Djukic believes that NATO should have bombed the Muslims too, for the sake of peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Djukic thinks that, because of this action carried out by international mediators in the Bosnia-Herzegovina civil war, the peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina has become more distant, and that a new war is emerging. Djukic claims that the NATO action at Gorazde will make the peace process more difficult and put a strain on the relations of the conflicting sides in the negotiation process. Djukic explained that the international mediators cannot ask the Serbs to join the peace process while bombing them at the same time. By not approving of the air strikes against the Serb positions near Gorazde, and condemning NATO for not having attacked the Muslims too, Djukic threw the ball into the neutral court and added that "the United Nations and NATO are the most responsible for the situation in Gorazde, as they did nothing to really protect the area except declare it a protected area."

The SNS officials also discussed the possible continuation, that is, the postponement of the Zagreb negotiations between the local Serbs from the UNPA's [United

Nations Protecred Areas] and representatives of the Croatian Government. Namely, they believe that the second stage of negotiations, which has the establishment of economic ties on the agenda, will be much more difficult than the first, as the negotiators will have to tackle political issues, that is, sovereignty. They believe that the negotiations that were supposed to have been held on Tuesday in Zagreb have been postponed because the so-called Krajina is undergoing the process of establishing their government. They also believe that miracles should not be expected in the second stage of negotiations, even supposing it ends successfully, as the critical point will be reached in the third stage, when the subject of negotiations will be the status of the Serbs and the so-called Krajina. According to their estimates, the second stage of negotiations will only be finished in eight months, and they are thus critical of the Croatian politicians who have been promising fast reintegration. The SNS officials repeated their request that representatives of the Serbs from the free territories of the Republic of Croatia also participate at the negotiations.

HDZ Official Views Party Conflicts

AU1904201794 Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 12 Apr 94 pp 9-11

[Interview with Dr. Jure Radic, head of the President's Office, by Hloverka Novak-Srzic; place and date not given: "Manolic Cannot Harm Us"]

[Text] Dr. Jure Radic talks about the intraparty conflicts provoked by the "Manolic case" in a calm and relaxed way, so different from the impression one gets from the media, which have recently been following almost every HDZ [Croatian Democratic Community] member in an attempt to learn more than the short announcements arriving from the closed party sessions contain. Asked what is happening in the HDZ, Dr. Radic answered in a nonchalant way, not letting himself be provoked:

[Radic] Nothing special; we are becoming stronger. The HDZ is undergoing the process of growing from a movement into a party, which is in accordance with the decision of the Second General Congress, and this is the time in which it will be undergoing minor turmoils; not in a destructive sense, but rather in the way that will result in the HDZ emerging as a real party; firm, well-connected, a party that is necessary to Croatia and the Croatian people.

[Novak-Srzic] However, you cannot claim that it is only an intraparty conflict. Since the issue is the party in power, the conflicts in it reflect on the overall political life of Croatia. How come Mesic has remained president of the Chamber of Representatives and member of the party Presidency despite the fact that some of his criticism was harsher than that of Manolic [president of the Chamber of Counties]?

[Radic] It is normal that all the events in the HDZ reflect on the events in the overall political life of Croatia, as Croatian politics are actually the HDZ politics. However, we in the party view the Manolic problem and the Mesic problem separately. The Manolic problem was on the agenda, certain decisions were made—primarily the decision of the party president through which Manolic was relieved of his party duties. On the other hand, after a talk with the President Mesic agreed to observe the party rules. At a certain point he reacted in the heat of the moment, perhaps unpleasantly provoked by certain party members, which is normal, human. I firmly believe that Mesic will observe the party rules. Moreover, he has promised the president that he would become an active HDZ member. It is important to point out that Manolic was offered the same, on several occasions, including one at the Club of Representatives, but he refused.

[Novak-Srzic] Do you think Manolic can harm the HDZ?

[Radic] He certainly cannot harm the HDZ as a force, as a party.

[Novak-Srzic] Many say that when Manolic was being relieved of his high party duties the party went by the rules of the procedure, but insisted on the urgency of the process when he was being relieved of his state functions. Some have called it a Stalinist method, and they believe that the HDZ members in the Chamber of Counties have done it in a clumsy, even arrogant way.

[Radic] Those who have attempted to portray Manolic's replacement that way wished it that way, but that is not how it happened.

[Novak-Srzic] We watched it on TV.

[Radic] Very few people remarked on that program; the committee has also shown that Mr. Manolic was not right. The remarks relate to some collection of signatures before the session....

[Novak-Srzic] There is talk that after the HDZ Presidency session, during lunch at the president's, someone started the action of collecting signatures of those in favor of Manolic's replacement.

[Radic] That is simply not true. After the Presidency session, a session of the Club of Representatives of the Chamber of Counties was held, which I attended, and so did Mr. Manolic. There was a vote on whether he should be relieved of the position of president of the Chamber of Counties, as he had already been under party suspension at that time. It was at that Club session that the decision was made that Mr. Manolic be relieved of his post, with three votes against. It was at that meeting, and not before or after lunch, as some have stated for the papers. Since 36 representatives voted in favor of Manolic being relieved, the president of the Club of Representatives said: "All right, now we have to formalize the decision, collect the signatures." Namely, the request for his replacement had to be conducted in compliance with the rules of procedure. It would be biased to say that signatures were being collected with some other motives.

[Novak-Srzic] Mr. Manolic has announced the founding of a new party, and said that a great number of HDZ representatives would go over to his party. Could the

HDZ lose the majority in the parliament, and could there be a parliamentary crisis—there has even been mention of early elections?

[Radic] It is human to hope. It would be crazy if someone were to undertake an action believing it would fail. By the same token, it is allowed that others also make judgments and present their positions. My personal judgment is that it would be unrealistic to expect that Mr. Manolic will attract a great number of HDZ members and question our majority in both Chambers. There is no danger of a parliamentary crisis, and thus no reason for early elections. There is a danger of violent methods being used, which is when you want to be something by all means, although the majority are against it. That is violence. Democracy is the rule of the majority. The individual opposing the majority is not democracy. The HDZ will insist on democracy being the position of the majority, and we will insist on the observance of the procedure and the normative deeds.

In this case the issue was the conflict in interpreting the procedure. In any law, the last resort is that the act be interpreted by whoever passed it. If the rules of procedure are passed by the Chamber of Counties, then they will be interpreted by the Chamber of Counties. As far as our style is concerned, I accept the criticism, I agree that not everything was organized well and that some individuals were not prepared well. However, that is one of our organizational weaknesses, but also strengths, since it is from instances such as these that we learn not to repeat such mistakes.

[Novak-Srzic] What is your comment on Mr. Mesic's statements about Bolshevist, Communist, Stalinist, nondemocratic actions in the HDZ?

[Radic] I am sure that Mr. Mesic does not believe that.

[Novak-Srzic] After the tragedy in Sesvete [reference to the explosion at a military warehouse on the outskirts of Zagreb], which occurred while the changes within the party were taking place, there appeared the demand for Defense Minister Susak's resignation.

[Radic] Naturally, I am sorry, as is any person when a tragedy occurs. We must all do everything to relieve the consequences of the tragedy, but we must make even more effort to prevent the possibility of similar accidents happening, or at least to reduce it to the lowest possible level. All these committees, from the president's to the parliament one, will do everything to learn the truth about the causes of the accident. We are, in a way, still at war, and thank God there have not been more such events and tragedies. As far as the demand for investigating the liability of any member of the government is concerned, it is a normal procedural possibility of the Croatian parliament. Not only does the parliament have the right to do so, but it is obliged to, but it is also obliged, as is any group, to demand a resignation on the basis of arguments. I think that the Croatian parliament has done well by deciding that there be an investigation into the real causes and possible culprits. You know what the church says: You can sin by thought, word, deed, and omission.

[Novak-Srzic] However, there are also moral reasons for insisting on Minister Susak's resignation, are there not?

[Radic] There is a lot of politics and petty politics in this, especially now. Remember, the reasons behind the demand for Susak's resignation are different every day. You can therefore not not put it all together. Minister Susak will personally make a maximum effort to determine the causes of the accident. However, there are some who would like Gojko Susak not to be defense minister. What if it is established that there is a possibility that those who want Susak to leave are responsible? I would not prejudice anything. Let the facts speak.

[Novak-Srzic] Do you consider the process of the "transformation" of the HDZ completed, and do you not think that the issue is in fact the postponement of disunion?

[Radic] I do not consider this process finished. I believe that the process of the HDZ growing from a movement into a party will last several years. It is impossible to achieve that in one moment, with one act, or one decree. It is a process. It is a normal sequence of events in which the HDZ will calmly, as well as in turmoil, as that is also part of life, carry out its transformation—not for its own sake, but for the sake of Croatia.

[Novak-Srzic] Who will be dropped in the process?

[Radic] Those who do not accept the program and statute of the HDZ. All the members have been able to participate in the creation of each act and the overall policy of the HDZ, but when the majority—and I would like to stress that it is the majority—adopts something by a democratic procedure, the others must implement it. We remain a broad enough party to allow for differences within the program, but not in the important aspects. We must be recognizable precisely in these important aspects, and those who are not recognizable in this way will not stay. We are open to former communists, but not to those who are still communists.

[Novak-Srzic] Ivic Pasalic has recently stated in an interview that the HDZ was starting the process of de-communization. What could that mean?

[Radic] There is something there. There are remnants of the communist system in our society, and the same holds true for the HDZ. You can see this danger in other countries that are leaving the socialist world, but in which Communism is returning. We are a party that will not allow Communism to return either among our members or in Croatia as a whole, because we are the essential political force in Croatia. Our aim is not to have communist remnants among us. I would like to emphasize that the issue is not whether someone used to be a communist, but what they support at present. I must point out that all this does not indicate the HDZ is turning right; we remain firmly in the center.

[Novak-Srzic] You have mentioned remnants of the communist society. Is it possible that the apartments that some high state officials, members of the HDZ, have been given, as was the case with Mr. Mudrinic [minister of transport and communications], could also be a remnant of the privileges following the pattern from the past?

[Radic] Personally, I have and will always be against people having privileges, especially illegal, only because they are in politics. The party must work hard on that, and it must clarify things with those who support it. However, we often tend to grasp individual cases that we then transfer to the entire system. I am in favor of changing the system by not allowing such omissions. I have not been informed of this specific case, so I cannot tell you anything about it.

[Novak-Srzic] Do you have a state-owned apartment?

[Radic] No, I bought my apartment before I entered politics.

Manolic Comments on Parliamentary 'Crisis'

AU1904172594 Rijeka NOVI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 15 Apr 94 p 5

[Interview with Josip Manolic, president of the Chamber of Counties, by Sanja Modric; place and date not given: "The President Will Decide Whether to Convene a New Session of the Chamber of Counties"]

[Text] [Modric] Can you comment on the political climate in Croatia with regard to the replacement that is imminent in the Chamber of Counties, after you were relieved of all your functions in the HDZ [Croatian Democratic Community]?

[Manolic] I think the attempt to replace me, the way in which it was done, has created a certain repulsion and made the public condemn that procedure. I have respected the procedure to a "T." Amending the agenda during a session of the Chamber of Counties is in the hands of the president of the chamber. Therefore, he can, but does not have to, include an amendment in the agenda. Since, that day, the HDZ Club of Representatives did not manage to have the question of my replacement put on the agenda; they demanded that the session be interrupted until a Commission for Constitution and Standing Orders gives its interpretation of the Standing Orders. The chamber accepted to interrupt the session, and it cannot be continued, for the interruption lasted for more than eight days. We must convene a new session. This time-out has enabled me to buy time to create—first of all in the Chamber of Counties and then also in the parliament—a climate that will make it possible to decide about my replacement in a legal and legitimate manner. I hope that, when the time comes, deputies will be able to commit themselves on that issue more objectively, although they were pressured by the HDZ leadership.

[Modric] When do you plan to convene the session of the Chamber of Counties, or will you convene it at all? HINA reports that yesterday you were formally requested to do so by representatives of the ruling party in the upper chamber of our parliament.

[Manolic] Convening a new session of the Chamber of Counties is a matter that will be decided by its president. I will be governed primarily by political reasons in deciding to convene the session, and I will completely obey constitutional and legal regulations. My decision cannot be influenced by any kind of demands of a group of the HDZ representatives nor of the HDZ Club of Representatives. The attempt to eliminate me from the Croatian parliament has undoubtedly resulted in a parliamentary crisis, for a crisis in the Chamber of Counties can easily be transferred to the Chamber of Representatives. I think the only way out of this situation is to reach an agreement between factors that lead to the crisis or new elections.

[Modric] What kind of agreement are you talking about?

[Manolic] It can be reached only if all parliamentary political parties meet and try to find a solution together. If there is no agreement, then there will have to be new elections and, in accordance with the view of the electoral body, a new parliament must be constituted.

[Modric] Will you persist in the founding of a new party anyway, the party of Croatian Independent Democrats, as announced?

[Manolic] Yes. I think that problems and differences within the HDZ, especially that of its leadership, which had already surfaced during the HDZ Second General Assembly, have piled up to the extent that it is impossible to avoid the division. In the HDZ, it is no longer possible to have any kind of critical political activity regarding the politics of the president of the country and the ruling party.

[Modric] Will Stipe Mesic be a member of the steering committee of your new party? Some newspapers say that Mesic, before the last session of the HDZ Club, spent two hours with President Tudjman and then swore unconditional allegiance to him. President Tudjman personally confirmed that Joza Boljkovac was on his side.

[Manolic] You see, in the present circumstances, one wrongly assumes that this is about my or Mesic's conflict with the president of the country and of the HDZ, that this is a conflict between people. However, the matter at issue is condemning a trend in politics. Differentiation is, therefore, not done according to "who is for and who is against the president," but "who is for the president's politics and who is against it." Therefore, people are divided around politics, and that is important. Consequently, what you ask me is irrelevant: is Mesic with me or not, am I with him or not. The important thing is for people to commit themselves on the state politics. That is a process that will not happen overnight but will last until we emerge as a political party.

[Modric] When is that going to happen?

[Manolic] Very soon. There are some elements that make us hurry. On one hand, the public is very excited because of those developments; it demands solutions and requires prominent politicians to make concrete steps.

[Modric] Some of your opponents claim you rushed making political assessments. President Tudjman also said you were not very dangerous, for if you leave the HDZ, only 1 percent of the membership will follow you.

[Manolic] President Tudjman has proved many times what his political judgment is like. Wrong! Involving Croatia in the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina, the isolation on the international plane, abandoning traditional allies in Europe, seeking some allegedly salutary solutions only through negotiations with Milosevic, and much more—all that speaks of the value of President Tudjman's judgment and the statement you asked me about can be viewed in that light, too. The statement about 1 percent of my followers is nothing but pure consolation for him and his bureaucracy.

[Modric] In the fierce media campaign on the occasion of the "Manolic case," some newspapers like VECERNJI LIST suggest that a group demanding the resignation of Minister Susak could be responsible for the tragic explosion in Sesvete [the suburbs of Zagreb]. Jure Radic, in DANAS, has asked an important question: What will happen if it is established that those who demand the replacement of the defense minister are responsible for the explosion?

[Manolic] First of all, when I demanded that Susak resign, I had no criminal acts in mind, but Susak's political responsibility for the tragedy of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Croats. I thought that, especially in the aftermath of the Washington agreement, the minister was disqualified by his war-mongering moves and statements that stirred up hatred between the Croats and the Muslims, the statement he made in the parliament that "Herzegovina is a part of Croatia," and an attempt to divide Bosnia-Herzegovina, which was actually reckoning without the host [the Bosnians]. Therefore, I claimed that Susak had to be held responsible for his political actions. Similar demands of the opposition, after the explosion in Duboki Jarak, rely on different arguments, although we must say that the opposition has also been critical toward the politics of Minister Susak in Bosnia-Herzegovina. The explosion in Sesvete, however, requires a different kind of responsibility of the said minister. As those storehouses are the property of the Defense Ministry, the minister, naturally, must bear the consequences. Not because we find him "guilty before putting him on trial," but in order to enable a comprehensive and objective investigation. It cannot be done if the most responsible people hold on to their functions and they themselves appoint the so-called investigation commissions, which are then suspected of working for their benefit. Since, while there were still fires burning in Sesvete, newspapers published that the tragedy in Duboki Jarak was an "accident," we can say that there are some who want to cover it all up, and we cannot allow that. As for the speculation of Mr. Radic and those like him, they are very tasteless. As the most responsible man in the party, right next to the president, Radic should know that he can discuss the explosion only after a thorough and objective investigation.

Slavonia Daily Comments on New Serb Government

94BA0232A Osijek GLAS SLAVONIJE in Serbo-Croatian 17 Mar 94 p 7

[Commentary by Mladen Kevo: "All of Milosevic's Ministers"]

[Text] *The newest Serbian Government headed by "Kninite" Mirko Marjanovic is only the logical continuation of Milosevic's red camarilla, which has been on the march across the Balkans for seven years, leaving ruins and corpses in its wake.*

"We will preserve the sound dinar, we will create a market system, we will crush inflation, there will be no printing of money without backing, we will quickly increase production, we will help the 'borderlands,' there will be no loans for the unqualified, we are encircled—but we will persevere and emerge even stronger than we were before the sanctions." With these words, a slightly milder variant of the speech from the 5th Congress of the KPJ [Communist Party of Yugoslavia] in 1948, the "mandatary for forming a Serbian government," Mirko Marjanovic, sold a demagogic haze to the Serbian parliamentary deputies and to the Serbian public. This "gentleman" with 50 years of party service, a native of Knin, a Belgrade scholarship recipient at red universities in Moscow, is now the main smuggler of gas from Russia for the second winter in a row, through the company "Progres," of which he was the director.

The gentlemen did not explain how he "will not print money without backing" while the budget of the "Armed Forces of Yugoslavia" is $700 million and the "superdinar" has backing in gold and foreign exchange amounting to 230 million German marks; nor did he explain exactly what "there will be no loans for the unqualified" means in a country from which all qualified people among them and 350,000 young people have long since fled head over heels.

Even a cursory glance at the team that will lead the country, the "ministers," provides an indication of what this latest Serbian government will be like. The man concerned with pushing this government's proposals through parliament will be socialist fossil Dragan Tomic, a person who with a trembling voice, as "president of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Belgrade" at the time, announced Milosevic's first rallies in 1987 and 1988 at the "source." There is Zoran Sokolovic "Pirocanac," for several years now Serbia's top policeman, a person who has performed immeasurable services in suppressing all attempts at "popular happenings" that are against Milosevic's will. His sphere of activity will remain the truncheon. There is Ratko Markovic, a professor at the School of Law in Belgrade, known for his writing of the so-called Zabljak Constitution, a piece of

legal hanky-panky through which Montenegro became Belgrade's captive without the right to appeal and remedy, a "jurist" for whom the Orthodox church in Vienna is plenty of proof that Vienna is an "old Serbian city." There is Slobodan Unkovic, the former chancellor of Belgrade University and chairman of one of the former sessions of the Serbian Assembly, known for having submitted his own irrevocable resignation midway through a session over which he was presiding, with the words: "Colleagues, I cannot go on!" There is also Radovan Pankov, who will lead one of the key areas, the "Ministry for Serbs Outside Serbia" (translation: "ministry for the borderlands"), and with Kertes the leader of the "yogurt revolution" in Vojvodina, the former party leader in Backa Palanka (the place from which the occupation and deportation of Ilok was conducted), and one of the ideological thugs of the Milosevic regime.

The sphere of information has been entrusted to Ratomir Vica, the former manager of RTV [Radio and Television] Serbia, and there is also the director of the "Red Star" soccer club for many years, Vladimir Cvetkovic. His club has long since lost its radiance, but nonetheless Cvetkovic, as minister of sports, is still a "rising star." This team will have at its disposal as flank support the good services—and it will need them—of Brana Crncevic, who needs no special introduction, Milorad Vucelic, the director of TV Serbia and ideologue of the "red chetnik movement," the unique Margit Savovic, as "federal minister for human rights," Mihalj Kertes—about whom no one knows exactly what he does, although many have experienced how it does it, and Radmilo Bogdanovic, Serbia's former top policeman. There is also Bora Jovic, who is less and less in demand, and there is Zeljko Simic, our great friend from the Geneva Declaration, and there are retired and active generals.

What is actually present here is the entire apparatus of a crumbled state that has been completely useless for several years now. Each of them could gain a certain role at a certain moment. The number of roles is unlimited, but they are all of an episodic nature. The latest convocation of the Serbian government is only the logical continuation of Milosevic's red camarilla, which for seven years now—amid war cries—has been on the march across the Balkans, leaving arson, ruins, and death in its wake for tens of thousands of members of other nations. These are "all the free comrades" who will leave only after they have literally spent the last para and pfennig of all the possible reserves of the former Yugoslavia. Even then, however, they will not leave willingly, and someone will have to ask them to give up power. Naturally, "ask" them using their methods....

Zagreb Silence on Osijek Economy Criticized

94BA0232B Osijek GLAS SLAVONIJE in Serbo-Croatian 17 Mar 94 p 5

[Commentary by Nevenka Levak: "Osijek—In First Place"]

[Text] *We are in fact no longer the rich Slavonia of immeasurable natural beauty and endless fields of grain, but rather the disfigured vestibule to Croatia which many people are sweeping under the rug because of peace in their own home.*

"Osijek is the best!" the residents of this city finally shouted, but the excitement subsided when they realized that Osijek is in fact at the top of the welfare and unemployment list. This was the effective conclusion drawn by Ivan Parac, minister of labor and social welfare of the RH [Republic of Croatia], during a visit to our city and vicinity. Still, such a situation is normal, he continued, because this city was on the front line of the fighting, but since we know that we are still in that position, this situation is hardly likely to change.

The city has been razed and it is necessary to invest in reconstruction, it was said at the meeting between Mr. Parac and the zupanija administration. This is because it is obvious that given the lack of economic capacities, the people who are employed have nothing to do, so that those who have had the good fortune to find work at private but nonproductive businesses are losing their jobs as those businesses close due to unprofitable operation. Since the end of May 1992, i.e., two years ago, we have not seen a single crane in Osijek, except the one at the Drava Bridge, and even that one is scarcely used.

Production capacities in Osijek are being rebuilt only slowly or not at all because there is no influx of fresh capital, and there is uncertainty about whether certain outdated technologies should even be rebuilt or whether the economy should be fully reconstructed and adapted to the needs of the contemporary market. But the basic precondition for that—which is still called capital—is not present. Mr. Parac also contends that Slavonia is at the top of the list in terms of the threat to social welfare, which is illogical for this (once) rich region. But we are no longer rich. The entire city is supplied by several private gardens in Tvrdjavica and Podravlje, while everything else that arrives is rinsed like fresh lettuce in a pile of taxes and surtaxes for fools. This time, the conclusion has emerged that the rest of Croatia should help Slavonia, which once fed all of Croatia and then some, but it is already too late for such a conclusion. We have already swallowed our share of heavy wartime and postwar calamity, and now we are coping practically on our own. For two years we have survived on rice and noodles, but now, in any event, we also have vegetables. Indeed, Minister Parac emphasizes that it is illogical that Osijek and Slavonia are in this position, and says verbatim "that there have been structural dislocations in the overall economy, infrastructure, education system, health care, and elsewhere in this region." What interests us in particular is the question of what should be done after the city was systematically shelled for a year and a half by "acquaintances" who knew very well where they were aiming. Perhaps someone could call the sweeping destruction of the Osijek economy a "structural change," but at the very least that is a ludicrous academic buzzword for what has happened to us, about which Croatia

has remained silent for two years now. It cannot even be said that the people in Zagreb knew nothing about this, because we have made plenty of noise, but until it became more or less popular to descend on Slavonia and individually shudder at the situation, which Croatian ministers have been doing lately, no one recognized this about us out loud. If this results in action, and not only reaction, then we will be satisfied with that, because better late than never; but if it has become fashionable to visit Slavonia and experience revulsion, then that is worse than the blissful ignorance demonstrated thus far by individuals from the metropolis. We are in fact no longer the rich Slavonia of immeasurable natural beauty and endless fields of grain, but rather the disfigured vestibule to Croatia which many people are sweeping under the rug because of peace in their own home. Unfortunately, we are not able to do that, because we live here.

Petition Drawn Up To Protest U.S. Deployment

LD2004005194 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0010 GMT 20 Apr 94

[Text] Skopje, April 19 (TANJUG)—While Skopje is awaiting the arrival of a further contingent of 180 U.S. troops serving on the U.N. Protection Force (UNPROFOR) in The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (F.Y.R.O.M.), the new Macedonian Communist movement is collecting signatures for its petition demanding that they should leave.

All foreign troops serving under the U.N. flag should leave the F.Y.R.O.M., as their presence is at odds with some provisions of the state's constitution, says the party's president Trifun Andreevski.

Andreevski quotes Articles 122 and 123 of the constitution which state that the sovereignty and independence of Macedonia shall be defended by the Macedonian Army.

If this demand is not granted, then the party, based in the western town of Gostivar, demands that at least the U.S. troops be replaced by those from Russia, D.P.R. Korea, China or Japan.

The (?incoming) contingent should bring the (?number of) U.S. troops [words indistinct] up to 500.

Nearly 1,000 UNPROFOR troops, mostly from Scandinavian countries, have been deployed in the F.Y.R.O.M. since early 1993.

A string of ranking U.S. Army and NATO officials have recently been visiting the F.Y.R.O.M., among them U.S. Joint Chief of Staff General John Shalikashvili in early April. [passage indistinct]

Gligorov Meets U.S. Group, Views Upcoming Talks

AU1904095694 Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 15 Apr 94 p 2

[J.M. report: "Macedonia Should Remain Independent"]

[Excerpt] "To have stability in the region, it is best if Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] remains an independent state without joining any federation," Kiro Gligorov, president of the Republic of Macedonia, said yesterday to the 15-member group of the New York nongovernmental Council for International Relations. President Gligorov explained that otherwise a conflict would immediately occur because the question would arise of who Macedonia should join with, which, as a matter of fact, has been the cause for the previous Balkan wars, the First World War also having started over the division of Macedonia. He said: "It does not mean that we want to remain isolated. Our firm commitment is to join the European associations and establish good relations with all our neighbors."

The U.S. delegation, composed of top journalists engaged in international policy, was very interested in the Greek-Macedonian dispute and U.S. mediation. President Gligorov assessed positively the upcoming meeting of Prime Minister Papandreou and U.S. President Clinton, and he pointed out the following: "Until now the United States has conducted an impartial policy concerning relations between Macedonia and Greece, showing an interest in maintaining peace and security in the Balkans. I hope that position will also prevail during the discussions between Papandreou and Clinton in Washington."

Speaking about the U.S. efforts for giving assistance to the finding of a just and acceptable solution for both sides, the Macedonian president said: "It is important that goodwill and desire for discussion win, and let us not use threats and embargoes, because reasonable people can always reach a solution through discussion."

Asked about the part of the [Macedonian] Constitution that Greece is calling upon Macedonia to change, Gligorov replied that even before the Badinter Commission came out with its assessments in favor of the recognition of Macedonia, some of the Constitution's regulations had been changed: "We wrote down we had no territorial pretensions and that we are not going to interfere in the internal affairs of other countries. At the same time, we proposed an agreement to Greece on the inviolability of the present border under the guarantee of the United Nations and the European Union." Gligorov pointed out the example of Article 108 of the Greek Constitution, where it is written that the Greek state will take care of all Greeks, whichever part of the world they live in.

"The moment the dispute between Macedonia and Greece is settled, there will be long-term good relations ahead of us, first of all because of the common economic interest and also because both peoples are very close, share the same religion and have similar customs," Gligorov said

Concerning the latest federation between the Muslims and the Croats on the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Gligorov emphasized: "I think it is positive, although the war between the Muslims and the Croats was absolutely unnecessary. However, there still remains the problem with the Serbs. In my opinion, it would be a good thing if Bosnia and Herzegovina could reunite, because its division on ethnic principles could have a bad effect not only on the Balkans, but also on some other Eastern European countries. It violates many international regulations and represents a bad precedent for changing the borders and for violent ethnic cleansing."

This is how President Gligorov responded to the question of what would happen if Serbia started ethnic cleansing in Kosovo: "That would be tragic; it is necessary to solve the Kosovo problem through negotiations

between the Serbian authority and the legitimate representatives of the Albanians in Kosovo. If that does not happen, and if ethnic cleansing takes place in Kosovo, there is a danger of a Balkan war with sizable negative consequences, in which two NATO members—Greece and Turkey—would be involved." [passage omitted]

Georgievski Views Relations With Bulgaria

AU1204113394 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 7 Apr 94 p 3

[Interview with Ljupco Georgievski, chairman of the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Democratic Party for Macedonian National Unity, by Mariyana Boyadzhieva; place and date not given: "We Must Tear Down the Berlin Walls of the Balkans"]

[Text] [Boyadzhieva] How realistic is the idea of creating a free zone for the movement of people, commodities, and capital between Bulgaria and Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM]?

[Georgievski] We all must work for tearing down the Berlin Walls of the Balkans—the cemented borders which have existed since the Balkan wars. Our party was the first in the republic clearly to declare already three and half years ago that it is impossible to open Macedonia only for Greece and Serbia. This must apply to all Balkan neighbors, and first of all to Bulgaria. We all are familiar with an idea which generates a lot of talk recently. This is the project of constructing a railroad between Sofia and Skopje, which is supported in our country. The project of constructing a railroad between the two countries is older than 100 years. It dates from the time of the Turkish Empire. After we proposed the idea of connecting Macedonia to Bulgaria and Albania, SRPSKA POLITIKA carried a half-page article in which the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Democratic Party for Macedonian National Unity [VMRO-DPMNE] was accused of wanting to partition Macedonia between Bulgaria and Albania. It is a pity our government did not initiate this project three years ago, and not now when the United Nations imposed an embargo against Serbia and Greece—a total economic blockade against Macedonia. This is done now not because the government really wants it, but because of the Greek embargo. I am afraid that if the Greek embargo is eliminated within one month the project will be put aside.

It is abnormal when one has to wait for several hours at the border checkpoints in order to enter another state. I think that both countries are not doing much to facilitate contacts between people.

[Boyadzhieva] How does the Greek embargo affect Macedonia?

[Georgievski] This is an anti-European act and its spirit is anti-Maastricht. The European Community must understand that it cannot treat Greece as a small child which has unique interests and caprices, and thus destroy the European spirit.

[Boyadzhieva] What emerged during your meetings with the Bulgarian politicians?

[Georgievski] All those whom I met clearly declared that the Republic of Bulgaria steadily adheres to the idea of an independent and sovereign Republic of Macedonia. It is especially important that on this issue there is a national consensus in Bulgaria's foreign policy. I think that the Bulgarian representatives at all levels must continue their active policy and defend this position at all forums and international meetings. I was told that many Serbian politicians in their contacts with various parties support a policy of dividing Macedonia. I hear tales about Struma and Radonos regions, and a division into Bulgarian, Albanian, and Serbian parts.

[Boyadzhieva] What is your attitude to the U.S. "blue helmets?" How long do you think they should stay in the Republic of Macedonia?

[Georgievski] We demanded that the "blue helmets" not serve under the flag of the UN Protection Forces [UNPROFOR], but in accordance with an agreement between our government and the U.S. Administration. They implemented their mission in Macedonia with a great success. The chance of a direct Serbian aggression decreased. The government did not have the courage to outline the borders, and this was done with barbed wire only after the U.S. soldiers arrived.

I think that they should remain in the Republic of Macedonia as long as a danger of destabilizing the country exists, and as long the sole goal of the Serbian-Greek alliance is to eliminate our country's independence. I think that our country must do everything possible to come closer to NATO's structures and thus to guarantee the total security of its borders.

It is well-known that the Macedonian Army was not trained independently to fight against a foreign aggression. During their withdrawal the Yugoslav generals took with them all the serious military equipment stationed on the territory of the Republic of Macedonia.

Commentary Views 'Dangerous' Greek Policy

AU1904114794 Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 16 Apr 94 p 2

[Commentary by Tomislav Ivanovski: "Athens Sets Fire to the Balkans"]

[Text] After two successive incidents on the Albanian-Greek border, there appears to be a fine and precise plan for kindling a fire, slowly but surely, under the militarily, politically, and economically fragile and insecure situation in this part of Europe, which threatens to ignite the Balkan barrel of gunpowder. The two incursions by Greek commandos into Albanian territory, in which several Albanian soldiers were killed or injured, will not change the borders between the two states or liberate "Northern Epirus." They simply reveal the policy of Athens' socialist government of PASOK [Pan-Hellenic

Socialist Movement] and Papandreou, demonstrate the social and political climate in the Greek state, and heat up the overall situation in the region, in which a war has been waged on the territories of former Yugoslavia for over two years.

In its recognizably arrogant and cynical style, official Athens refused to accept the Albanian reactions, accusing Tirana of "creating unnecessary tension in bilateral relations"! The Athens Government is blaming a certain "Northern Epirus Front" (that is how Athens describes southern Albania) for carrying out the entire operation out of revenge for the "bad position" of the Greek minority in Albania, and also because that piece of the Balkans is in Albania and not Greece! In some Athens newspapers this "Front" is still threatening new operations.

This should now serve as an alibi for Papandreou's state and, according to its loudspeakers, the whole affair should stop here. For its part, official Tirana has threatened to use its right to "employ the same measures," and has asked the Security Council to condemn Athens for the incident. No matter how understandable the Albanian reaction is, the whole case is also a kind of warning to Athens. It has been noted that Albania, under the pretext of taking care of "its brothers," is interfering in the internal affairs and issues of neighboring countries, unreservedly accepting the positions of "its brothers," and not those of the authorities of the countries where they live as a minority. Tirana's direct interference in the affairs of [the Party of Democratic Prosperity] the party of the Albanians in Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM], and particularly its involvement in the arms affair in which some of its members were implicated can easily produce similar situations and cause bloody incidents with even more terrifying consequences.

The tragic incident on the Albanian-Greek border, however, cannot and must not be put to the sidelines, because it forces the question that has been hanging in the air for some time—where will this behavior of Athens politicians lead, and what else can be expected? Ultimately, even if we accept Athens' claim that the government has nothing to do with the commandos' actions, it is still responsible for the creation of a climate of nationalism, chauvinism, hatred, and revenge, together with the desire to occupy foreign territories. That is the new reality that amazes all those who, until just recently, naively believed that there is democracy today in the place that gave birth to the word democracy.

By making dangerous provocations in its surroundings (except for the Former Yugoslav Republic [FYR] of Serbia, which will be probably left for the final phase), Athens is creating hotbeds of crisis by setting the Balkan peninsula on fire, which has been made particularly explicit after the old, capricious, and extremely vain Papandreou resumed his seat on the prime minister's chair. Within a very short time he had succeeded in heating up his state with the imposition of the "Macedonian question" as promoted by the previous government after the proclamation of the independence of the Republic of Macedonia and after the report of the Badinter Commission. By deceiving the electorate last October by saying that the world would not accept the "new state" in the Balkans without the agreement of Athens, that he would easily change its name, and that all "Greece's friends" were on his side, Papandreou easily won the elections. Nevertheless, in the disturbed Greek economy, sustained by European Community money, instead of enthusiasm he has introduced nationalism and chauvinism, and instead of getting his citizens back to work, he sends them to meetings where they hysterically threaten to protect their allegedly imperiled hellenism even by force.

Nonetheless, the world and Europe, which never tried to hide its feeling of dissatisfaction after PASOK and Papandreou returned to power, have no understanding of Greek nationalism, and they have not only recognized, but also started to help the Republic of Macedonia. The response of the narcissistic prime minister and his family was to introduce the embargo against Macedonia and to threaten the Balkans, Europe, and the whole world that he would do his best to destroy the state on his northern border if it refused to give in to his blackmail. According to the plan, Macedonia should be economically destroyed, which would cause a range of social disruptions and the destabilization of the present authorities. These would then be replaced by an extreme nationalist group, which would cause a conflict between the Macedonians and the Albanians resulting in the destruction of the state and the subsequent division of the country between Greece and the Serbia, and later, perhaps, between others in the Balkans. The Athens politicians thus want to close the Macedonian file forever and bury the Macedonian national question once and for all on their territory.

Milosevic's state was the first to be caught in this trap, because it wished to settle some old accounts, but there are also others who, although elevated to pluralists and democrats overnight, still cannot stop dreaming of the past and unrealized dreams. Sofia, for instance, is constantly being offered a return to the good old days of the late 1970's, when Zhivkov and Papandreou had monthly meetings, and as compensation it is being offered the construction of a road across Pirin Macedonia to the FYR Serbia and Romania. On the other hand, Bucharest is being offered "support and understanding" for its serious problems with the large Hungarian (and Catholic) minority, by promoting a new Orthodox brotherhood. At the same time, they are all scared of the "Albanian question" and Kosovo, of the Muslim world and Turkey, accused of planning to reconstruct the Ottoman Empire, although it is Athens that insists that the Aegean is a "Greek sea," and that the whole of Cyprus is a part of hellenism!

Living constantly in an atmosphere of extreme nationalist feelings, it is no wonder that a group of "crazies"

has appeared, demanding justice and corrections to "historical errors" on the territory of a foreign state, and murdering foreign citizens. That is why the irresponsible reactions of Athens irritate, because it does not even want to dissociate itself from the deed, let alone condemn it. What will happen if such "crazy" groups enter Macedonia, Bulgaria, or Turkey, and what if they respond with the same measures as Tirana is now threatening to do?

Apparently, Papandreou does not care about that. The main thing is that he has finally shown his partners in Europe and NATO that he can do whatever he likes, and that they can do practically nothing. He is sending the army to the northern borders to intimidate Macedonia and make a mockery of Europe. He recommends to the Greek lobby in the United States and Canada that Greek terrorist actions in Australia, where Macedonian houses of culture and churches were torched, may also take place in their countries. It seems as though Papandreou does not want to change his image as a tough nationalist, and so nothing more can be expected of him. The way that he is, and the way that he is pushing his state and the Balkans into a crisis more dangerous than the one 82 years ago will not change even if Macedonia accepts his ultimatums. At a certain moment he will probably satisfy his vanity, but the next moment he will think of something else to keep his neighborhood in constant tension. Unfortunately, that is the essence of his Balkan policy.

'Albanisation' Reported in Tetovo

AU1904202494 Skopje MILS-NEWS in English 19 Apr 94

[Unattributed report: "Albanisation of Tetovo"]

[Text] The Macedonian [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] Radio informs of recently increasing practice of Macedonians selling their homes in Tetovo. Purchasers are mainly Albanians from outside, offering enormously high prices in hard currency. The tax department in Tetovo has received 1,700 applications for house, business locals and real estates sales, only in the period from last January until this month. The sales are especially frequent in the city centre. The basic reasons for this is the present chaotic and lawless situation, expelling the official Macedonian language from use and the uncontrolled processes of Albanisation of Tetovo and surrounding villages.

Kucan Admits Arms Supplied to Croatia, Bosnia

LD1704130594 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1039 GMT 17 Apr 94

[Text] Ljubljana, April 17 (TANJUG)—Slovenia's President Milan Kucan has admitted that Slovenia supplied arms to Croatia and Bosnian Moslems in defiance of a U.N. ban on arms deliveries to ex- Yugoslavia's territory.

In a letter to Slovenian Prime Minister Janez Drnovsek, carried by Ljubljana papers, Kucan demanded a government investigation into arms smuggling to determine who was involved, what was the profit of officials, institutions and individuals gained in that way, and the exact quantity of arms delivered to Slovenia from abroad.

The truth about Slovenia's involvement in arms smuggling came out in the public last summer, when 120 tonnes of weapons for Croatia and Bosnian Moslems were recovered at Maribor airport.

By drawing attention to arms smuggling, Kucan attempted to attenuate his role in the affair that assumed international proportions.

Kucan's "considerate" letter to Drnovsek is also intended to build up his reputation, but it will probably trigger new polemics instead, notably about the ex-Defence Minister Janez Jansa's role in Slovenia's instigating armed conflicts in former Yugoslavia.

Former Interior Minister Cited

LD1904182494 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1729 GMT 19 Apr 94

["Pool" item]

[Text] Maribor, April 19 (TANJUG)—Slovenia's former Interior Minister Igor Bavcar has confirmed that well-organised channels had been delivering arms to Moslems in Bosnia-Herzegovina via Slovenia in spite of the embargo on arms exports to the entire territory of former Yugoslavia.

Speaking at a trial to the smugglers of 120 tons of arms discovered at the Maribor airport last summer, Bavcar said that the Slovenian Interior Ministry had sent to Slovenian border authorities permits for free passage of arms for Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Slovenia's retired intelligence service number two man Janez Piber confirmed in court that Slovenian President Milan Kucan and Bavcar had introduced him to Hasan Cengic, who had been authorised by Bosnian Moslem leader Alija Izetbegovic to obtain arms.

Piber said he had been told to assist Cengic even before the outbreak of armed conflicts in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Jansa Explains Plans for Broader Coalition

AU0804192794 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1330 GMT 8 Apr 94

[Text] Janez Jansa, president of the Social Democratic Party [SDSS], today explained the reasons that his party left the government coalition. Robert Skerjanc reports from the news conference:

[Begin recording] [Skerjanc] The SDSS president, Janez Jansa, for this anticipated decision of the party council, put forward three basic reasons for why the party's presidency proposed that the SDSS leave the coalition:

[Jansa] The first reason is a gross violation of the coalition agreement, not merely in this latest case when the prime minister proposed my replacement, but gross violation of the coalition agreement from December onwards. The second reason for our departure from the coalition and this decision is a fact that the work of the majority in the coalition and the government was geared to the creation of conditions that not only did not prevent corruption, but created circumstances that actually facilitated it. The third reason for our departure from the coalition is entirely political, namely, the balance of power has changed following the unification, that is to say, merger or drowning of the Democrats, the Eco-Greens, and the Socialists into this big Liberal Democracy.

[Skerjanc] The party council yesterday also made an important decision by which it authorized the party presidency and its president to start negotiations with the Slovene Peoples' Party, the Christian Democrats, and the Greens of Slovenia, or, if the Christian Democrats will not leave the coalition, the National Democrats, about the formation of a wide political coalition whose aim would be a democratic and socially and morally just Slovenia.

The coalition plans to appear seriously at the local elections. In case the Slovene Christian Democrats would leave the coalition, the SDSS also sees the need to hold extraordinary parliamentary elections, which could be organized simultaneously with the local elections.

Jansa also spoke about the anti-corruption rally scheduled for tomorrow. He said that the Christian Democratic Party took part in its organization too, which is, according to him, a good omen for future negotiations about the joint coalition. [end recording]

Federal

Diplomatic Ties Established With Ukraine

LD1904204394 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1853 GMT 19 Apr 94

[Text] Belgrade, April 19 (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia (Serbia/Montenegro) and Ukraine have established diplomatic relations, which has been made official by the foreign ministries exchanging notes, the Yugoslav ministry said on Tuesday [19 April]. In line with this, Yugoslavia has already opened its embassy in Kiev. The establishment of diplomatic ties continues long years of all-round cooperation and friendship between the two nations and affirms their commitment to deepening and consolidation friendly relations and extensive cooperation, the ministry said.

Belgrade Allows Transit of UNPROFOR Troops

LD1904222094 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2210 GMT 19 Apr 94

[Text] Belgrade, April 19 (TANJUG)—The government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia on Tuesday [19 April] approved a request of the U.N. Protection Force [UNPROFOR] for transit through Yugoslav territory for the Ukrainian and Russian batallions which are to join UNPROFOR in Bosnia-Herzegovina, the Federal Information Ministry said today in Belgrade. There are already 550 Ukrainian troops on the UNPROFOR in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and 160 more left Ukraine for that former Yugoslav Republic on Monday. The first 100 soldiers of the additional Russian UNPROFOR contingent left Russia in late March and are already in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Most of them have been deployed in the area of Sarajevo.

Official: UN Sanctions Caused 30,000 Deaths

AU2004065994 Paris AFP in English 2134 GMT 19 Apr 94

[Text] Geneva, April 19 (AFP)—The rump Yugoslavia Tuesday [19 April] said UN sanctions against it had caused the deaths of 30,000 people, including 15,000 children. Yugoslav deputy health minister Svetlana Arsenic told the UN children's committee here that despite provisions to allow medical equipment into Yugoslavia, the sanctions had denied vital medical equipment to thousands of ordinary people. The embargo on trade with Serbia and Montenegro was imposed by the United Nations in May 1992 to punish Belgrade for supporting Serb aggression in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Children have been particularly hard hit by the scarcity of medical equipment and drugs and 15,000 have died as a result, the Yugoslav minister said.

If the UN agrees to an exception for medical equipment, "even the smallest imports" are subject to complicated bureaucratic procedures at the UN sanctions committee in New York, Arsenic said. "The examination of a large number of requests is constantly delayed and put back," she said.

Yugoslavia's ambassador to Geneva, Vladimir Pavicevic, said that because of the impact of the sanctions, Belgrade can no longer apply the UN convention on children's rights. Sanctions against Yugoslavia have caused a sharp fall in medical cover available with some of the most vulnerable being the 3.2 million children in the region, 200,000 of whom are war refugees "of all nationalities", Arsenic added.

In several areas of Yugoslavia, the death rate has risen above the birth rate, she added, suggesting that this jeopardised "the very survival of the Yugoslav people."

Turkish Envoy Summoned Over Attack on Car

LD1904184894 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1719 GMT 19 Apr 94

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 19 Apr (TANJUG)—The Turkish charge d'affaires has been handed a note of sharpest protest by the Yugoslav Government over the terrorist attack in Ankara early this morning, in which a car of our embassy's first secretary, which had been parked in front of his house, was blown up and destroyed. The protest note expresses indignation over the terrorist act, which threatened the life and property of the Yugoslav diplomat and members of his family. It is stressed that the Yugoslav Government considers the Turkish authorities fully responsible for the terrorist act, because—despite the Yugoslav side's warnings about threats and hostile demonstrations against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia—they have not adopted efficient measures to protect the Yugoslav diplomatic and consular missions, their personnel, and members of their families. [passage omitted]

French Criticized for Attack on Serbian Center

LD1904165494 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1524 GMT 19 Apr 94

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, April 19 (TANJUG)—Monday's attack on the Yugoslav cultural centre in Paris is an act of vandalism and the continuation of a yearslong anti-Serb and anti-Yugoslav campaign in the French media and public, Yugoslav Education and Culture Minister Slavko Gordic said on Tuesday [19 April]. We were embittered by the reports that a group of French citizens yesterday committed an unprecedented vandalistic and anti-civilized act, Gordic told TANJUG commenting the raid by Moslem extremists and their French friends on the Yugoslav cultural centre and their day-long blockade carried out with the tacit agreement of the French authorities.

'The aggressive and destructive conduct of the participants in the attack on the Yugoslav cultural centre was

received with insufferable tolerance of the French authorities who stood by as two of the staff were brutally harrassed and thrown out on the street, and watched the hours-long demolishing of the facilities and the destruction of the documentation and books,' he said.

The minister said that Paris, viewed by the Serb people as the capital both of the French and world culture, has now shown another side which mars its humanistic tradition. Gordic described as specially depressing the fact that the group also included French philosopher Bernard Henri-Levy who is well-known for his numerous verbal attacks against the Serbs, Serbia and Yugoslavia. Henri-Levy has sided with the attackers and thus committed an act fundamentally contrary to all humanist principles which has revealed all the misery of his unconcealed biased political activities, Gordic said.

Serbian Information Minister Ratomir Vico also believes that the raid on the French cultural centre in Paris, Yugoslavia's only such representation in the world, is an act of vandalism, unworthy of French democratic traditions and that the reaction of the French authorities 'has left a sickening impression because it was inadequate and too late in coming.' Instead of immediately condemning the incident as an act of terrorism, the French authorities allowed the Moslem extremists and the French advocates of Moslem interests to abuse the centre for anti-Serb propoganda, Vico told TANJUG. Vico warned that the benignant attitude of the French authorities and public is completely in keeping with the anti-Serb public opinion in that country.

The French politicians have lost their neutrality regarding the civil war in Yugoslavia, and a part of the intellectuals, who were virtually unknown to the public prior to the war in the Balkans, have now emerged to use their anti-Serb views to blame the Serbs for all the tragic events in the territory of the former Yugoslavia, Vico said. Vico recalled that the Yugoslav cultural centre in Paris used authentic and objective information in an attempt to introduce somewhat different views to the French public. The centre responded to the demonization of the Serbs, provided documented proof of their sufferring and invited foreign newsmen to convince themselves on the spot that the events in the Balkans are not only one-dimensional. The cultural centre did not pay French intellectuals to speak the 'truth' but it reacted when the French media carried the apparent untruths about the developments in the Yugoslav territories, Vico said.

Government Adopts Report on "War Crimes"

LD2004011294 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0001 GMT 20 Apr 94

[Text] Belgrade, April 19 (TANJUG) - The Yugoslav Government on Tuesday [19 April] adopted its third report on war crimes committed in the lands of former Yugoslavia, which lists 186 fully and meticulously documentad new cases of gross violations of internaional law governing conduct and humanitarian issues in times of war. The Information Ministry said that the government would submit the report to the United Nations, in keeping with the Security Council's Resolution 780. Reports on other war crimes will be made as facts are established, the ministry said.

Political Parties Call For Talks on Bosnia

LD1904210494 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1932 GMT 19 Apr 94

[Text] Belgrade, April 19 (TANJUG)—Leading parties of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia on Tuesday [19 April] said that talks are the only way to resolve the conflict in former Bosnia-Herzegovina. The Democratic Party of Socialists of Montenegro, the ruling party in that Yugoslav republic, said that the peace process in Bosnia-Herzegovina had real chances to succeed provided the United Nations and NATO abandon the hasty and disastrous military operations against Bosnian Serbs and that the legitimate interests of all warring sides be equally respected in the diplomatic activities.

This party, whose delegates are in federal parliament, assessed on the basis of a report on Yugoslavia's diplomatic activities presented by Republican President Momir Bulatovic, that efforts should continue unabated to contribute to the peace process and lasting solutions. The lifting of the international sanctions against Yugoslavia is an integral and inseparable part of a global agreement on Bosnia-Herzegovina, the party said.

The opposition Democratic Party, whose delegates are present in the federal and Serbian parliaments, is convinced that the establishment of peace in the entire territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina is mostly in the interest of the Serb side, and an immediate ceasefire around Gorazde, a Moslem enclave in southeastern Bosnia-Herzegovina, is the first step towards this.

In a statement for the public, Democratic Party President Zoran Djindjic said it was necessary to respect the agreement on an immediate ceasefire in Gorazde, that both sides accept the immediate arrival of U.N. observers, that the U.N. Protection Force (UNPROFOR) immediately demilitarize Gorazde as a protected area, and that the international community pressure the Moslem side to accept the Serb proposal on a truce in the entire territory of the republic. The Democratic Party's information service said that Djindjic had telephoned Bosnian Serb president Radovan Karadzic to consult him and that the statement for the public was based on this phone conversation.

Serbian Renewal Movement President Vuk Draskovic told a press conference that the only solution for the Bosnian crisis was an end to all military activities and the signing of a peace accord. 'We are now on a crossroads - peace or escalation of war,' Draskovic said, adding that he believed there would be no more NATO air strikes. The leader of this opposition party, whose delegates are present in Serbian parliament, believes that

it is necessary to place the heavy weapons of all three sides—Moslems, Serbs and Croats—simultaneously under U.N. control, and later to demilitarize the entire area, and that only then should a political solution be sought. Draskovic believes that it is in the national and state interest of Serbs to 'distance themselves from the war-crazed minority, to brand war-mongers and war profiteers.'

General Views State of Army, NATO Threat

AU1904191194 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 15 Apr 94 p 10

[Interview with General Momcilo Perisic, chief of the General Staff of the Yugoslav Army, by Miroslav Lazanski; place and date not given: "We Are Ready for Any Surprise"]

[Text] [Lazanski] Mr. General, to what extent does the shelling of the Serbian territory near Gorazde influence the security and defense of the FRY?

[Perisic] The shelling of the Serbian territory near Gorazde by NATO is certainly complicating the military-political situation in former Bosnia-Herzegovina. Besides, such an action by the NATO air-force can undoubtedly result in immense consequences for peace in the Balkans and in Europe. In the case of further air-strikes on Serbian territory, the danger of the war escalating to an uncontrollable level will increase. Which is to say, this act encourages the supporters of the war option, which makes all those who have peace at their heart very worried. I want to emphasize particularly that it is an act of aggression against the Serbian people, which has a legitimate and natural right to self-defense, guaranteed by the UN Charter.

The Yugoslav Army is following the development of the situation that has come about after the NATO bombardment continuously and with the greatest attention. Consequently, we are undertaking all necessary measures to protect the territorial integrity of our country. In the case of a possible major violation of the FRY's air-space, the army will implement the course of action anticipated in the case of its combat deployment.

[Lazanski] What phase of the transformation is the Yugoslav Army going through at the moment?

[Perisic] The process of the army's transformation is based on the transfer of the authority in the matters of defense to the state, on a new military doctrine, and changes in the normative-legal regulations. The command posts and units have been more rationally organized, and many staff changes have been made. Effectiveness in command and security in the rear echelons have been increased. The army is now in the final phase of the process of depolitization and professionalization. In that context, the curriculums in the system of education and training in the Yugoslav Army have also been changed. Now, the staff is employed according to the new formation-organizational patterns. The replacement of the old insignia with the new ones is underway. All in all, during the past two years, the changes starting from the concept of defense to the visual symbols of the Yugoslav Army have already been made.

In the oncoming period, the units within the corps will be reorganized in accordance with the new demands that have been imposed on the Yugoslav Army regarding the country's defense. Consequently, we shall modernize the command posts and units by providing them with new sorts of armament. We believe that the transformation of the army, generally seen, is going on in compliance with the economic potentials of the FRY and the planned spirit.

[Lazanski] Are you satisfied with the army budget that was adopted recently?

[Perisic] The resources apportioned from the federal budget for the financing of the Yugoslav Army in 1994 amount to 43 percent of the estimated GNP. The means that have been approved, provided that the Yugoslav Army gets the real value, will enable us to meet some 57 percent of the estimated needs in 1994. While estimating the total of the funds foreseen for the federal budget, starting from the adopted economic policy for 1994, the Program of Reconstruction of the Monetary System, and other measures of the recuperation of the country, the Federal Government could not provide the proposed level of funds, so it had to cut it by half. Regarding the difficult economic situation in the country, and the measures that are undertaken for its recuperation, we have accepted the aforementioned percentage as a necessity in the current circumstances. Therefore, we have been forced to make great cuts in the development, and to postpone some aspects of the transformation program until later.

In general, however, we are not satisfied with the inflow of resources in the federal budget cash-box. In the first three months of this year, the army was allotted 51 percent of the planned amount for that period. At the moment, we owe some 50 million dinars to the army suppliers. Therefore we have great problems getting regular food supplies, with the maintenance of equipment, and the disbursement of salaries. Many firms, the army's traditional partners, have been in an extremely difficult financial situation because of our debts.

In such difficult circumstances, in the command posts, units, and army institutions, certain planned measures have been undertaken, aimed at the rationalization of the utilization, and the maximal economizing of the material-technical and financial means.

Compared with other countries in the world, we spend considerably less money per soldier. For instance, in other countries the costs per soldier in U.S. dollars are as follows: Italy—$47,881; Belgium—$38,555; Austria—$31,923; Greece—$27,683; Hungary—$14,358; Bulgaria—$11,028, Turkey—$8,923; and the FRY—$5,500. We are doing everything we can to prevent such

a difficult economic situation from considerably affecting the country's security.

New Concept of Defense

[Lazanski] What will be the priorities of such a military budget?

[Perisic] Differing from earlier years, when the army budget was allotted as a single amount, this year, following the proposal by the Assembly deputies, the budget for the Yugoslav Army in 1994 has been apportioned according to the particular purposes, that is, planned commitments. Thereby the priorities have already been established. Keeping this in mind, and also the fact that the funds are insufficient, I would point out only some of the priorities: Covering the expenses that considerably influence army readiness, the payment of running expenses for food, clothes, energy, and the renewal of material reserves.

Despite the existence of objective difficulties in society and the lack of necessary financial means, we are endeavoring to keep up the necessary technological-technical level of providing the army with armament and military equipment. In addition, particular attention is paid to the Air Force and Anti-Aircraft Defense [RVPVO], and other systems.

[Lazanski] What is the doctrinal approach to the defense of the country like now?

[Perisic] The basic goal of the FRY is to secure the existential survival of the Serbian and Montenegrin people, as well as of all other citizens, and the entire civilizational development of society. From this basic goal all other goals, like national, political, economic, defense, and similar goals, are derived. The basic political and doctrinal determinations are: First, the protection and defense of the sovereignty, independence, and territorial integrity of the FRY from all forms of outside aggression; Second, the betterment of the defense ability of the society, and the protection of peace on the state borders; Third, planned and organizational preparations aimed at the effective functioning of the defense system in all conditions; Fourth, the defense of the country is a vital function of the state and society, that is to say, a duty and right of all citizens and institutions that are organized as a unique and effective system; Fifth, the repulsion of any form of armed aggression against the country; Sixth, the FRY does not identify any country as its enemy in alliance, but rather intercedes for the establishment and maintenance of peace and security in the neighboring countries, Europe, and world in order to make possible equal cooperation among different countries; Seventh, in the case of armed aggression against the FRY, the Yugoslav Army and society in general would withstand it by using any means, until the final defeat of the aggressor is accomplished.

The new concept is characterized by the nationalization, rather than the socialization of the defense system. While making a choice between certain forms of military organization, we chose a smaller, highly professional, mobile army in peacetime that is capable of preventing any kind of surprise, and of creating conditions for the development of a mass army trained and determined to wage a war in any conditions, until the final victory.

[Lazanski] In which way does the Yugoslav Army intend to school young people now, and thereby to obtain reserve officers?

[Perisic] Since September 1991, the schools for the education of reserve officers have been closed down. However, the role of the reserve army staff is derived from the military doctrine and the concept of defense of the FRY, so that we shall soon begin with the fulfillment of those demands of defense. With the Bill on Military Schools and Army's Scientific-Research Institutions, a new system of educating the cadre is founded. The future reserve army staff will be composed of the people educated in the schools for reserve officers, of conscripts that have already served in the army, but whose skills are of particular interest to the Yugoslav Army—perhaps some additional schooling or specialization will be necessary afterwards—then also of the people who are employed in the army under two-year contracts and who have acquired certain skills of particular interest to the Yugoslav Army and also of the active army personnel that will be transferred to the reserve, regarding their own desires or the army's needs. The schools for reserve officers will admit mostly candidates who already have a university degree.

Military Alliances

[Lazanski] Is the military top brass aware of the military alliances that are being formed around our country, and that they may be dangerous for the FRY?

[Perisic] With respect to the former SFRY [Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia], which was a nonaligned country, the military and political position of the FRY has been changed. Our incipient stance is that the defense of our country may be organized and carried out according to the following possibilities: A defense without allies, a defense with potential allies, a defense relying upon subsequent allies, and a defense with clearly defined allies. In that sense, the choice of allies and models of defense is taken by the government.

In the circumstances of a blockade, the possibility of joining military alliances is excluded. We are not interested in entering aggressive military alliances. In peacetime we do not consider joining military alliances, because, in our opinion, there are no particular reasons for that. The FRY would enter a military alliance with those countries that are not aggressors, that have been attacked, or whose vital interests are endangered. We base any prospects for a military alliance on the congruence of strategic and political interests. Rather than believing that a military alliance provides a greater degree of security, or of defense potential, we feel that

one's own independence and sovereignty may be endangered through such alliances. The Yugoslav Army attentively follows the developments in Europe and in the world, and particularly those in our direct neighborhood, in order to be able to undertake necessary measures in the organization of the defense system and the prevention of possible surprises.

[Lazanski] To what extent is the Partnership for Peace program attractive to the Yugoslav Army, and to what extent is it a serious military challenge and threat?

[Perisic] The Yugoslav Army must understand, rather than form state policy. It is designed by the FRY's leadership. Consequently, the answer to this question must be given by the state leadership.

Current Military Programs

[Lazanski] When does the Yugoslav Army intend to purchase a serious amount of the most up-to-date air-force weapons, as well as surface-to-surface missile systems? Does that depend exclusively on the sanctions and the country's finances?

[Perisic] Regardless of a certain technical-technological inferiority in relation to the most high-tech armies, the Yugoslav Army is even now capable of fighting for, and defending the independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity of the FRY, which also includes inflicting intolerable losses upon any aggressor. The Air-Force and Anti-Aircraft Defense of the Yugoslav Army has at its disposal such weapons that make possible the elementary protection of the civilians, vital buildings, and the territory. In the case of a more serious violation of Yugoslav air space, the Air-Force and Anti-Aircraft Defense is ready to react in an appropriate way.

Because of the war in our neighborhood, and many threats, the Yugoslav Army is certainly in need of the most modern weapons for aviation and of missile systems. However, their purchase is limited by the economic circumstances in the country.

[Lazanski] By what percentage can the current military industry can be correlated with the military industry of the former SFRY?

[Perisic] The capacities of the military industry that have remained in the republics that seceded, and the majority of such industrial capacities are located in those republics, are lost to the Yugoslav Army. Those are very important capacities, some of which, like the overhauling works in Travnik, were among the most modern. A part of the military industries that has remained in the FRY has been designed and constructed to meet a considerably greater demand than there is currently. Those capacities will be adjusted to objective production possibilities, and will be partly converted into the production for civil needs of the society. Only economically acceptable programs will be financed.

In our institutes we have considerable scientific and laboratory capacities for researches and development. We have the technical documentation on all the weapons that were manufactured in the former SFRY. We have managed to reorganize the production quickly, so that today we manufacture all kinds of rifles, aircraft and anti-aircraft guns and ammunition, anti-aircraft and mortar ammunition, guided and nonguided anti-tank rockets, aircraft bombs, the means of personal nuclear-chemical-biological protection, light piston aircraft, certain electronic signalling devices, reconnaissance radar, radar detectors, and so forth. The domestic industrial plants also manufacture various ignition devices that are a great priority, gunpowder, rocket fuel, some types and calibers of artillery ammunition, explosives, mines, and hand grenades. There are fields in which we are among the very top manufacturers in the world, in view of our achievements and quality: For instance, the increase in range of artillery shells by some 30 percent (using gunpowder of better quality, better subcaliber ammunition and cumulative projectiles), new systems of fire regulation installed in anti-tank and anti-aircraft guns, the modernized T-55 tank, the production of pyro-cartridges [as published] for pilot seats, the modernized G-4M plane, the new pilotless plane, and so forth. Besides, the overhauling of a considerable part of the machinery and military equipment has been carried out. This is to say, thanks to the dedicated engagement of scientists and many smaller and larger firms, we are managing to eliminate some consequences of the existing inferiority in the field of armament and military equipment manufacture.

[Lazanski] Are the projects of manufacturing the M-84 tank, dubbed Vihor, the Vidra fighting infantry vehicle, and the G-4 plane still of current interest? Is there any clear deadline by which those projects may be continued?

[Perisic] Those production lines are still of current interest. There are expert cadres entrusted with the realization of those projects, and also a major part of such manufacturing capacities is still functioning. The introduction of those projects in the process of realization directly depends on the economic situation in society, and on available financial means. The dynamics will be continuously harmonized with the realistic potential of the Yugoslav Army for the purchase of those weapons. When the sanctions are lifted, those projects will be orientated toward exports, which will certainly speed up the process of their realization.

The State Decides on Priests in the Yugoslav Army

[Lazanski] Which of the most sophisticated weapons that are not manufactured in Yugoslavia will the Yugoslav Army go for? Will they be Western, Russian, or perhaps Chinese weapons?

[Perisic] We have gone for the production of arms and military equipment in our factories. We shall be purchasing the most modern fighting systems abroad, but

those will be of various origins. In that way we shall avoid dependency on particular dealers regarding spare parts, maintenance, training, and so forth.

In view of the fact that the procurement of arms and military equipment from abroad has been very difficult for us because of the sanctions, for the time being we are not considering that possibility very much. When the time comes for us to be able to purchase certain fighting systems, contemporary arms, and equipment on the world market, we shall endeavor to purchase those categories that are compatible with the FRY's defense system. In addition, we shall pay particular attention to the quality, price, and maintenance conditions of those arms, rather than to the countries those arms come from.

[Lazanski] How do you, Mr. General, view the war in former Yugoslavia, since you took part in the 1991-1992 operations? Could the former Yugoslav People's Army [JNA] have settled certain things in a more elegant way, or perhaps prevented them?

[Perisic] The war in the former SFRY was triggered, in the first place, by the secession of the Republic of Slovenia, then by the secession of Croatia, and finally, of Bosnia-Herzegovina, in which the ongoing war has characteristics of an ethnic, religious, and civil war. In that context, the former JNA was not a key factor in the disintegration of the SFRY. A different question is whether the JNA, given a deep economic crisis and political instability at the time, could have prevented the secession by force. I personally think that it could not, but, anyway, the assessment of that question should be given by expert institutions, viewing it from a certain distance of time.

[Lazanski] Will army service in the Yugoslav Army involve also the ethnic Albanians from Kosovo, and the Muslims from Sandzak in the future?

[Perisic] According to Article 63 of the Constitution, Article 279 of the Law on Army, and Article 21 of the Law on Defense, army service is stipulated for all the citizens of the FRY, regardless of national or religious affiliation. Therefore, that also applies to the ethnic Albanians from Kosovo and Metohija, as well as to the Muslims from Sandzak.

There are certain difficulties regarding the call-up of conscripts and the mobilization of reservists for army maneuvers, due to the war in our neighborhood, the activities of separatist groups, propaganda, various manipulations, and the dodging of the fulfillment of duties toward the country. We are doing everything to prevent those occurrences from considerably diminishing the readiness of command posts and units to carry out their tasks.

[Lazanski] Are you considering the engagement of army priests in the Yugoslav Army?

[Perisic] The regulations on the service in the Yugoslav Army, in compliance with the Constitution, say that persons serving in the Yugoslav Army are allowed to visit religious centers, to worship, and wear amulets and relics, as well as to use religious books, but the dissemination of religion is forbidden. In addition, it has been made possible for believers whose faith forbids carrying arms to serve in the army under special conditions. Therefore, a particular need for the employment of priests in the army does not exist. However, the decision on whether the Yugoslav Army should have priests or not should be made by the authorized state institutions.

[Lazanski] If and when the embassies of the FRY are inaugurated in the former Yugoslav republics, will you send Yugoslav military attaches there, or will that be carried out from Belgrade, because the distances are not so great?

[Perisic] The decision on possible military attaches within the diplomatic-consular missions of the FRY in the former Yugoslav republics should be made by the authorized state institutions. When an overall political solution for former Yugoslavia is adopted, when the mutual diplomatic relations through embassies are established, and the questions of the partition balance and boundaries are settled, then the question of military attaches will be settled as well.

Serbia

Djonovic Notes Need To Import Food

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[Text] Belgrade, April 18 (TANJUG)—Two years of economic sanctions have made it necessary for Yugoslavia to import food articles it used to export to meet the most basic needs of its population, experts of Serbia's Ministry of Agriculture set out. Despite great potential in food production, Yugoslavia would have to import some 100,000 tonnes of sugar, some 400 million liters of milk, 50,000 tonnes of potatoes and 20,000 tones of beans, said Ivko Djonovic, Serbian agriculture minister in an interview to Belgrade's daily BORBA Monday.

In this way, Djonovic denied assessments by federal government experts that farmers would this year secure enough food to satisfy the needs of the Yugoslav population. Yugoslav farmers have prior to the introduction of the sanctions exported all currently deficient articles. Thus, Yugoslav sugar factories earned 300 million dollars annually from sugar exports, said Djonovic.

Market surpluses, in his view, could be expected in basic cultures such as grain and maize. Experts assessed that some 2.5 million tonnes of grain would this year be reaped in Serbia. Yugoslavia's overall needs may be met with 1.5 million tonnes.

Apart from its population of 10.4 million, more than 500,000 officially registered refugees from the former Yugoslav republics, were a cause for concern.

Clampdown on Independent Media Feared

AU2004055394 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 19 Apr 94 p 6

[Unattributed report: "Prelude to a Clash With Domestic Journalists"]

[Text] Belgrade—"The statement by Milorad Vucelic, prominent socialist and director general of the Serbian Radio and Television, to Novi Sad DNEVNIK that the purge of foreign journalists is fully justified, sheds considerably more light on the real essence of the latest democratic initiative by the Serbian authorities." This was stated in a communique issued by the UGS [Association of City Trade Unions] "Independence". "We thought that this was only interference in the editorial policy of other papers, but thanks to the aforementioned statement, it is now becoming clear that this move has far reaching consequences in the internal political arena.

The pogrom of foreign journalists is only warming up, a prelude to the final showdown with those who do not share the same views at home. By throwing foreigners out, Serbia is only making sure that there will be no easing or lifting of the sanctions so that, in the total darkness and without witnesses, it can finish off the independent media and independent journalists devoted to their profession, "Independence" claims.